

“A house isn’t a home without a gun”

SALW Survey Republic of Montenegro



SEESAC

South Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the
Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons



The South Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SEESAC) has a mandate from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Stability Pact for South East Europe (SPSEE) to provide operational assistance, technical assistance and management information in support of the formulation and implementation of SALW co-ordination, control and reduction measures, projects and activities in order to support the Stability Pact Regional Implementation Plan, thereby contributing to enhanced regional stability and further long-term development in South Eastern Europe.

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Executive Summary

Background

The SALW Survey of the Republic of Montenegro was conducted by a team of researchers from the Small Arms Survey during September to December 2003. It was funded by SEESAC for two reasons: 1) to establish management information for the design of future SALW control intervention projects within the Republic of Montenegro; and 2) to field test the recently drafted SALW Survey protocols and draft Regional Micro-Disarmament Standard (RMDS) 05.80 - SALW Survey. As such, it is the first SALW Survey to be officially conducted in accordance with the SALW Survey protocols, although previous SALW surveys and 'needs assessments' have utilised similar methodologies.

Summary of findings

The main findings of this SALW Survey can be summarised as follows:

- This Survey suggests that there are between 168,000 - 246,000 weapons in Montenegro, of which approximately 126,000 – 175,000 are in civilian hands.
- It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between small arms controlled by the government and weapons in civilian hands, as both the Montenegrin police and the then Yugoslav National Army (JNA) distributed large numbers of weapons to the Reserve Defence Force in the late 1990s, and little reliable information is available on who now has direct responsibility for them.
- As the Montenegrin government and the State Union Army continue modernising and downsizing their security forces, large quantities of surplus weapons will need adequate storage and/or destruction.
- Weapon transfers in and out of Montenegro appear to have severely declined since 2000. Arms trafficking seems to have lost its profitability in the Republic.
- Weapons, in particular pistols, are the primary tools used in violence and crime in Montenegro. An estimated 85% of homicides reported in 2003 were committed with small arms.
- Small arms crime levels are relatively high in Montenegro when compared with the rest of the region, and appear to have remained relatively stable since 1999.
- Small arms are misused primarily by young men involved in late evening bar or gang fights, but also in celebratory shootings and suicides.
- The municipalities most affected by small arms violence include Cetinje, Bar, Niksic, Podgorica, Kolasin and Budva.
- Montenegrins have mixed feelings about weapons: while they feel there are too many guns in society, they perceive gun ownership as legitimate in a climate of high criminality and given long-established traditions.
- Protection of one's self and family is the primary reason cited by Montenegrins for owning a weapon.
- The culture of 'celebratory shootings' is strong and perceived as legitimate among Montenegrins.
- Although Montenegrins recognize the police's role as their primary security provider, their level of trust in the Ministry of Internal Affairs is relatively low. Similar results were found in SALW Surveys conducted in Kosovo¹ and Macedonia².



- Montenegrins viewed the ‘Farewell to Arms’ weapons collection campaign as a limited success, given the relatively low number of weapons collected. They suggest that future initiatives provide individual, as opposed to community-based incentives to turn in weapons, and be accompanied with stricter penalties against illicit gun owners.
- The government is currently drafting a new weapons law, which would ban carrying weapons in public.

¹ The Province of Kosovo will be referred to as Kosovo throughout this report. This does not reflect any institutional views as to its legal status, future or boundaries. (See inside front cover for full disclaimer explanation).

² The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRoM) will be referred to as Macedonia for convenience throughout this report.



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Republic of Montenegro - SALW Survey

1 Introduction

“A house isn’t a home without a gun” is a sentiment held dearly by many Montenegrin citizens and one that is evident in the widespread availability of small arms throughout the Republic. Although many individuals recognize the danger that firearms potentially present to Montenegrin society, far more believe that owning weapons is both a part of their cultural tradition as well as their right as citizens. As such, many Montenegrin citizens exercise their right to own and publicly carry a variety of weapons, from handguns to rifles, a fact illustrated by the multitude of public celebratory shootings and gunshot wounds that occur in the Republic each year.

However, small arms also hold a dark place in the violent and bloody history of the Balkan region. Although much of the conflict that spread throughout the region in the early-to-mid nineties largely missed Montenegro, many weapons that originated in these battles ultimately found their way to its territory through a number of methods, including soldiers who brought their duty weapons home as souvenirs, refugees who fled to the territory in the wake of the violence, and illicit arms trafficking. Accordingly, the market for weapons in Montenegro is saturated and it is commonly believed that there is at least one weapon in every household.

This SALW Survey examines the small arms situation in the Republic of Montenegro and seeks to shed light on the specifics surrounding a number of issues, including: firearms possession by both civilians and the government, the quantifiable impacts of weapons on Montenegro, perceptions about weapons in society, and the potential capacity of the government for future SALW control and weapon collection programmes. This study, commissioned by the UNDP and SEESAC, is designed particularly to inform a proposed SALW Control program to occur in Montenegro in 2004 and thus, provides a background for assessing the feasibility of collecting weapons in Montenegro.

The report presents the findings of the Montenegro SALW survey, undertaken from September to December 2003 by the Small Arms Survey. The structure of this report follows the survey’s four component parts:

- a) **Small Arms Distribution Survey (SADS).** An assessment of data collected on the type, quantity, ownership, distribution and movement of SALW within the country or region;
- b) **Small Arms Impact Survey (SAIS).** An evaluation of data collected on the impact of SALW on different members of the community and social and economic development;
- c) **Small Arms Perception Survey (SAPS).** An analysis of qualitative information on the attitudes of diverse actors (female and male, old and young) in the local community to SALW ownership, effects and usage and possible interventions; and
- d) **Small Arms Capacity Survey (SACS).** An examination of information collected on the indigenous capacity to conduct an appropriate, safe, efficient and effective SALW intervention.

Montenegro appears to be relatively well armed when compared to the rest of the region - a fact that is reflected in the findings of the first three survey components. Despite difficulties in distinguishing between government and civilian held weapons, there is a strong consensus that the illicit gun market is saturated. Prices for small arms appear to remain stable and low and, perhaps as a consequence, illicit transfers into and out of Montenegro seem to have declined since 2000.

The survey reveals a general acceptance by the civilian population of the high number of small arms in Montenegro, attributed in large part by those surveyed to a tradition of gun ownership. Whilst concern appears to be significant with regard to certain practices involving small arms - particularly crime and irresponsible use, such as shooting while intoxicated, employing an automatic weapon or carrying a weapon in public - possession of weapons for defensive purposes or for use at times of celebration appears to be accepted by many people, although tempered by fears of safety for families in possession of a gun.



Some of the 5,028 weapons awaiting destruction.

Emphasis on gun ownership for reasons of protection is complemented by the survey's findings with regard to crime - where small arms crime levels in Montenegro appear relatively high in contrast to the rest of the region - and also with negative civilian perceptions of trust in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Montenegrins are concerned about crime and frequently associate the negative effects of small arms with reference to crime. However, mistrust of the police is cited as one reason for citizen reluctance to hand in illegal weapons, and as such, many individuals favour harsher penalties for illegal gun ownership.

Montenegrins considered the 'Farewell to Arms' weapons collection campaign a limited success, given the relatively low number of weapons collected. Their suggestions included future initiatives that provide individual, as opposed to community-based incentives to turn in weapons. They generally agreed that another amnesty period, followed by the adoption and rapid implementation of the new draft law on firearms - banning public carrying of weapons - would do much to send the message that the government is moving effectively to tackle the illegal ownership of small arms.

This SALW Survey is only the first step in the development of an appropriate SALW control intervention. The information contained within this SALW Survey should be updated throughout any future SALW control programme.

Box 1: Notes on Methodology

This study draws upon a variety of data collection methods, which can be summarised as follows:

Key informant interviews: The authors conducted approximately 20 key informant interviews in Podgorica from 13 - 29 October 2003. Key informants included Montenegrin representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Customs Department, the Ministry of Education, the Montenegro Bureau of Statistics, the University of Montenegro as well as Montenegrin CSOs such as the Center for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM), the Montenegro Women's Lobby, the Roma Center, the Montenegrin Orthodox Church, the Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development, and the Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses. A number of private actors were also consulted, including a major private security firm and a local gun shop. International key informants included the UNDP Liaison Office in Podgorica, the EU Customs Fiscal Assistance Office, the OSCE Podgorica Office, the United States Consulate, and UNMIK Customs.

Household survey and focus groups: Small Arms Survey sub-contracted CEDEM to undertake a 1,200 representative household survey on small arms perceptions, distribution, capacity and impacts in Montenegro. Survey results are presented in Annex B. CEDEM also conducted seven focus groups on small arms capacity and perception issues in the cities of Berane, Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja, Podgorica, Niksic, Bar and Kotor. Each focus group comprised ten respondents with a gender balance of five men and five women.

Media review: In addition to desk research conducted from Geneva, Small Arms Survey contracted a local researcher to undertake a systematic review of small arms related articles published in the local daily *Vijesti*. Results for the months of May - June 1998 and January - November 2003 are presented in this report.

Public health data: Small Arms Survey used its firearms mortality database to analyse Montenegrin data from an international perspective. In addition, the Montenegro Medical Group gathered statistics on external injuries (cut/stab, beating and firearm wounds) from Podgorica hospital for 2003.

2 Small Arms Distribution Survey (SADS)

Table 1 presents the overall distribution of small arms and light weapons in Montenegro as established in this report. The methodology used to produce these estimates is presented below.

Civilian, registered and unregistered	MUP	State Union Army	Total
126,000 - 175,000	15,000 - 17,000	27,000 - 54,000	168,000 - 246,000

Table 1: Estimated small arms stockpiles in Montenegro

2.1 Civilian small arms stockpiles

Existing data

According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, there were 86,000 licensed small arms as of Spring 2003 in Montenegro.³ This number represents a 7,000 increase compared to 1989 figures, although the ratio per 100 inhabitants has remained stable at 13 due to population growth. While comparative data for the region is not available for 2003, this increase in the number of registered firearms suggests that Montenegro remains one of the countries in the region with the highest rate of registered firearms (see Table 2 for 1989 data).

Region	Number of legal small arms	Number of legal small arms per 100 inhabitants
Bosnia-Herzegovina	342,131	8.3
Croatia	299,586	6.5
Macedonia	99,324	5.2
Republic of Montenegro	78,928	13.5
Slovenia	79,680	4.2
Republic of Serbia	492,314	8.6
Kosovo	65,540	4.1
Vojvodina region	143,651	7.1

Table 2: Legal possession of small arms in former Yugoslavia in 1989⁴

Legal civilian holdings, however, represent only part of the picture, as a number of Montenegrin civilian firearms are unregistered. The police seized 7,378 illicit small arms and light weapons between 1998 and 2003, more than 60% of which were handguns (pistols and revolvers). Other common illicit weapons in Montenegro include hunting rifles (17% of seizures) as well as assault rifles and automatic guns (17%). In addition, the police seized 634 grenades, 734 kg of explosives, and more than 100,000 items of ammunition over the same period of time.⁵

³ Small Arms Survey interview with Mico Orlandic, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Podgorica, 28 October 2003.

⁴ Source: Gorjanc (2000).

⁵ Source: Jane's Intelligence Pointers, 1999.



Estimating the number of unregistered weapons is a difficult task. A *Vijesti* article dated 27 January 2003 quoted members of the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD) declaring that some 25,000 illegal weapons were in circulation in Montenegro.⁶ This number is likely to be an underestimate, as it appears to be drawn from the number of weapons the Montenegrin government handed over to its Reserve Defence Force, which was said to have peaked at 25,000 members in late 1999.⁷ A more recent estimate provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) suggests that the number of illicit weapons circulating in Montenegro is around 40,000.⁸ Here, we use 40,000 as a minimum estimate of the number of illicit weapons.

Below, we consider the number of small arms in civilian hands by relying on insights from key informant interviews, and the analysis of several proxy indicators. As presented in Table 3, this analysis suggests that 40,000 is most likely a lower threshold of the number of illicit weapons in civilian hands, as the available data suggests there may be as many as 89,000.

Type	Minimum	Maximum	Estimate (error margin)
Registered	86,000	86,000	86,000 (+/- 0 %)
Unregistered	40,000	89,000	64,500 (+/- 38 %)
Total	126,000	175,000	150,500 (+/- 16 %)

Table 3: Civilian held small arms estimate

Key informant interviews

Based on key informant interviews, there is a strong consensus among both Montenegrin officials⁹ and the general population¹⁰ that there is on average one small arm per household in Montenegro. The overwhelming view is that even if there is not a gun in every household, the fact that some households have several weapons balances the ratio back towards parity. Applying a conservative rate of one gun per household would generate an estimate of 175,000 small arms in Montenegro. As there are 86,000 registered small arms in Montenegro, this implies that there may be as many as 89,000 illicit weapons in circulation in the Republic.

Proxy indicators

There are two proxy indicators that are useful in comparing small arms availability at the cross-national level. First, the proportion of suicides committed with firearms is generally accepted as a reliable indicator of levels of household firearm ownership.¹¹ In other words, the more guns are used in suicides, the more firearms are available to civilians. As shown in Figure 1, data obtained for Bijelo Polje municipality in Montenegro shows how the municipality has a high rate of gun use in suicides for the region, which also suggests a high rate of civilian ownership of firearms.

⁶ Source: *Vijesti*, 27 January 2003, reviewed in Pajevic, 2003, p. 51.

⁷ Source: Jane's Intelligence Pointers, 1999.

⁸ Small Arms Survey written correspondence with Rajo Ljumovic, Advisor to the Deputy Minister, Montenegrin Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1 June 2004.

⁹ During a meeting between the Small Arms Survey and the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs (Podgorica, 28 October), those present were reminded of a statement given by Prime Minister Djukanovic during a meeting in 2002 with the then Head of SEESAC, General H V D Graaf: 'I can't tell you how many houses in Montenegro have internet connections, but I can tell you that probably every household has a gun, which is of great concern to us.' Following this quote, Deputy Minister Mico Orlandic agreed with the Prime Minister, adding that even if not every household had weapons, the fact that other household have several would balance the ratio to one firearm per household on average.

¹⁰ This notion of one firearm per household came up repeatedly during most meetings held between the Small Arms Survey and a range of academic, NGO, private security and other civilian actors.

¹¹ Killias *et al.* (2001) found that firearm ownership levels (as measured through household survey questions) were statistically associated with the percentage of suicides committed with firearms in a study that compared 21 industrialised countries. The percentage of firearm suicides has subsequently been used as a proxy for firearm ownership in a number of academic studies (see for example Hemenway, 2002).

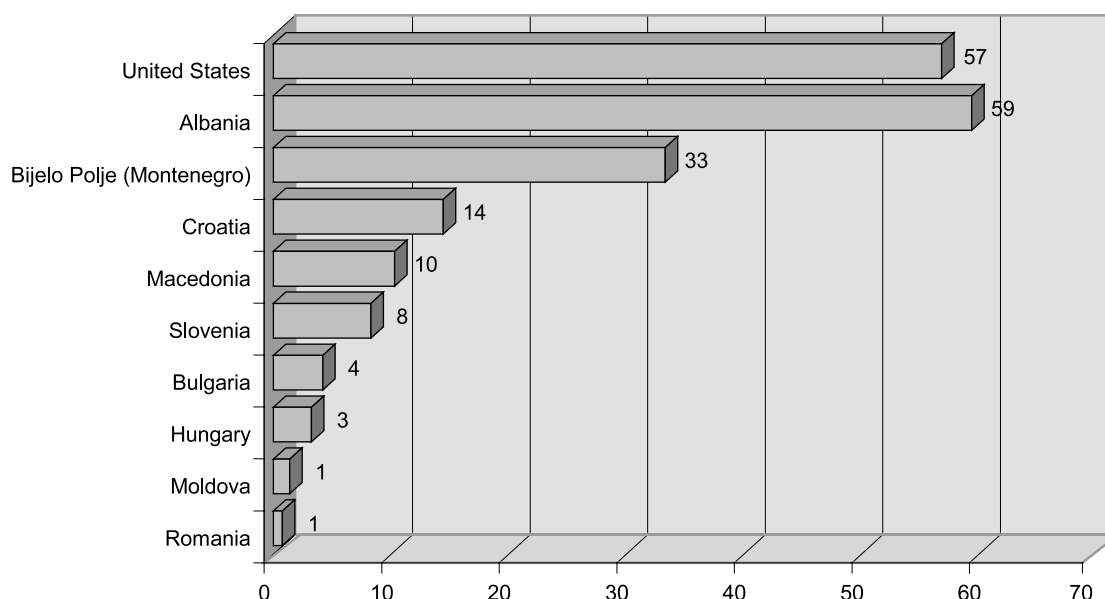


Figure 1: Percentage of suicides committed with SALW in Bijelo Polje municipality and selected countries ¹²

Second, the results of household surveys, even though they suffer from underreporting due to the ‘sensitive’ nature of questions on firearm ownership, are nevertheless very useful in making international comparisons. In other words, countries which have higher household ownership rates based on survey results are also likely to be those with the largest volume of small arms in civilian hands. Annex B (question 34) shows the results of a 1,200 respondent household survey conducted in Montenegro in November 2003 by CEDEM. Respondents were asked to indicate whether their household possessed a firearm and if so, how many. According to this survey, 26% of Montenegrin households possess at least one firearm.

Figure 2 compares Montenegro to nine other countries where firearm ownership data was collected through representative household surveys, and for which data is also available on firearm use in suicides as well as estimates on total (registered and unregistered) civilian small arms stockpiles computed as the number of firearms per 100 inhabitants. This data confirms that countries with a higher number of firearms per 100 inhabitants also tend to have higher gun suicide levels as well as higher household firearm ownership levels. Figure 2 strongly suggests that Montenegro has a large volume of small arms in civilian hands: only the United States has a higher household ownership rate (35% vs. 26%) and/or use of firearm in suicide rate (59% vs. 33%). Similarly, both proxy indicators are higher in Montenegro than in any of the eight other countries for which this data is available.

¹² Sources: National figures are drawn from the Small Arms Survey firearm mortality database, which with respect to suicides relies primarily on the World Health Organisation Mortality Database (WHO, 2003). Figures for Bijelo Polje municipality are taken from Pajevic (2003).

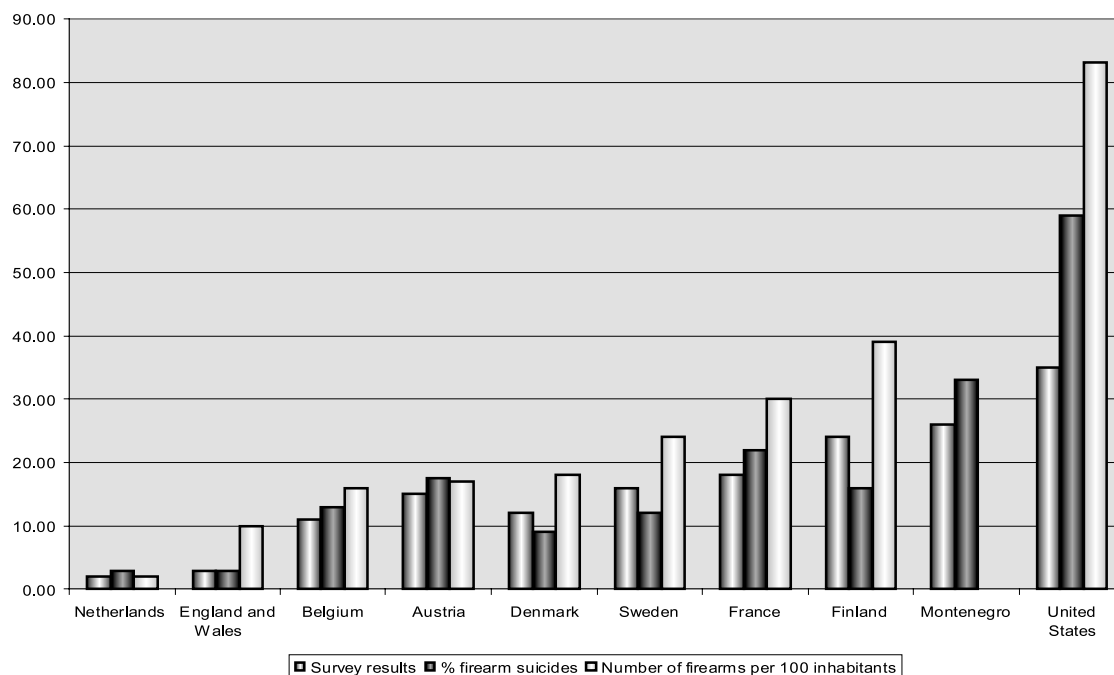


Figure 2: Proxies for civilian small arms stockpiles in Montenegro and selected countries

Note: Survey results' figures represent the percentage of households admitting to own at least one small arm in representative household surveys. They are taken from International Crime Victimization Surveys data analysed by van Kesteren (2003) except for Montenegro (CEDEM, 2003) and the United States (Smith, 2001).

Note: Rates of use of firearms in suicide are drawn from the Small Arms Survey firearm mortality database, which with respect to suicides relies primarily on the World Health Organisation Mortality Database (WHO, 2003). The figures for Montenegro are for Bijelo Polje municipality only and taken from a Vijesti article quoted in Pajevic (2003, p.15).

Note: Figures on the number of firearms per 100 inhabitants are taken from Small Arms Survey (2003, pp. 61, 64), and take into account both registered and unregistered civilian small arms.

Another striking trend, in past household surveys, is that the number of firearms per 100 inhabitants is systematically equal to or higher than the percentage of households admitting to owning a weapon. In order to reappraise the estimate suggested by key informant interviews, and based on the trends put forward by Figure 2, we assume that this pattern also applies to Montenegro. This would suggest that there are at least 171,600 weapons in the Republic,¹³ including 85,600 unregistered small arms.¹⁴ This is intriguingly close to numbers derived from key informant interviews (See above). As a result, the widely repeated guess that there is on average one small arm per household appears justified, and represents a realistic upper threshold.

¹³ 171,600 = 660,000 (population of Montenegro) x 26% (percentage of households admitting to owning a gun in survey).

¹⁴ 85,600 = 171,600 (total civilian small arms estimate) – 86,000 (registered civilian small arms).



2.2 Private Security Companies (PSCs)

The private security sector has been growing in Montenegro since the early 1990s, when the unstable political environment combined with the rise of organised crime created a sense of insecurity and therefore a need for additional protection among the population. The number of active PSCs in Montenegro was not known as of October 2003, official figures should nevertheless be released shortly as the sector has organised itself for lobbying purposes in connection with the upcoming adoption of a new law on firearms.¹⁵

One interesting aspect of the Montenegrin private security sector is that a large part of its services seems geared towards personal services such as bodyguarding, as opposed to more traditional tasks such as providing private guards for businesses. Customers who hire bodyguards appear to be government officials and foreigners working for international agencies.¹⁶ This distinction is important since bodyguards do carry firearms whereas other guards do not. Bodyguards have to go through the same licensing process with the Ministry of Internal Affairs as any other Montenegrin to obtain a firearm. Bodyguards' weapons, therefore, are their private property and do not belong to the firms. PSCs are now organised into an association, which has lobbied for the new weapons law not to prohibit the carrying of weapons by private security guards, and to simplify the process of acquiring weapons and ammunition for private security companies.¹⁷

2.3 State stockpiles

Public security in Montenegro is the responsibility of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, while national security is under the auspices of the Serbia and Montenegro State Union Army. Given the ongoing restructuring of both institutions, (see, for example, Edmunds, 2003), and still recent tensions between the former Yugoslav Army (VJ) and the MUP, it is difficult to assess with precision the size of small arms stockpiles in the hands of state institutions. Nevertheless, and based on available information, it appears that 42,000 to 72,000 small arms are in the hands of the MUP and the State Union Army in Montenegro.

Force	Size	Minimum Multiplier	Maximum Multiplier	Estimated SALW holdings
Police (regular, border, crime investigators, anti-terrorism unit, and special unit)	4,227	1.2	1.2	5,157
Reserve Defence Force (2001)	10,000	1.0	1.2	10,000 – 12,000
State Union Army	12,000	2.25	4.5	27,000 – 54,000
Total				42,157 – 71,157

Table 4: Estimated state stockpiles

¹⁵ Small Arms Survey interview with Jole Cavlovic, president of the private security firm 'Fast Worker,' Podgorica, 25 October 2003. Although the number of private security guards in Montenegro is unknown, Mr. Cavlovic indicated that his company hired approximately 200 guards.

¹⁶ Small Arms Survey interview with Jole Cavlovic, president of the private security firm 'Fast Worker,' Podgorica, 25 October 2003.

¹⁷ Small Arms Survey interview with Jole Cavlovic, president of the private security firm 'Fast Worker,' Podgorica, 25 October 2003. Mr. Cavlovic reported that under the current law private guards, as any other civilian, can only legally buy 25 bullets per year per weapon. He pointed that the police and guards hired by State owned firms could buy more bullets. PSCs are now lobbying to be able to acquire firearms as firms, as opposed to individual guards.



Given the ongoing restructuring of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Police (MUP), it is difficult to establish the current number of armed police officers in a precise manner. The latest comprehensive figures available are provided in a report published by the OSCE (2001). In 2001, the MUP had a total staff of 10,000, of which 4,427 were armed officers.¹⁸ Of these 4,427, 2,621 were regular uniform police, 410 were traffic police, 769 were border police, and 427 were investigators, including crime specialist support officers.¹⁹ With respect to reserve forces, it was estimated in 2001 that approximately 10,000 civilians had been recruited and armed in 1998 and 1999 to constitute a Reserve Defence Force to 'counter the perceived threat from the Yugoslav army'. This gives a total of 14,227 armed personnel under the responsibility of the MUP in 2001. The number of MUP armed personnel has been downsized since 2001, which may alter the numbers presented above. For example, the number of border police officers is increasing given that the State Union Army is gradually granting Montenegro more responsibility at the border. As the MUP could not provide more updated statistics, we can only rely on approximate statements gathered through key informant interviews. As of late October 2003, the MUP declared having fewer than 4,000 uniformed police officers.²⁰ It appears that the MUP is planning on downsizing its total police force to 3,000 by June 2004, with approximately 600 officers having been laid off in September 2003 as part of this process.²¹

According to information provided by the MUP in June 2004, police officers (including members of the regular, border, crime investigation, anti-terrorism unit, and special unit forces) are armed with a total of 5,157 small arms.²² Regular police officers each carry one pistol, mostly Zastavas and more recently Glocks.²³ Border police officers are issued both a pistol and an automatic rifle.²⁴ The number of SALW distributed by the Montenegrin government to the Reserve Defence Force remains unclear at the time of publishing this report, as officials were unable to provide details on this issue. We assume here that the ratio of weapons per reservist is similar to that of regular police officers. This suggests an additional 10,000 to 12,000 SALW in the hands of the Reserve Defence Force in 2001, and now allegedly under control of the MUP.²⁵

What is unclear is what is happening to the weapons previously held by the 10,000 defence force reservists who are now said to have been decommissioned, reintegrated into the growing border police or in state security forces. While some officials claim that their weapons have been surrendered and are now stockpiled and secured by MUP,²⁶ focus group results suggest that the process was not as systematic as one would hope, which implies that a number of SALW given by the government to reservists have not been recovered (CEDEM, 2003c, also see SAPS section, sub-section 4, p. 25). Informed members of the international community suggest that there are currently about 7,500 armed officers in Montenegro, which would include reintegrated defence force reservists.²⁷

In any case, the SALW stockpiles under the responsibility of the MUP are likely to be similar to the situation in 2001, as the restructuring and downsizing of forces does not systematically imply the destruction of surplus weapons. Some preliminary moves have been taken towards that direction, however, with a first destruction campaign on

¹⁸ OSCE Report 2001, pp 34, 53.

¹⁹ OSCE Report 2001, p 34.

²⁰ Small Arms Survey interview with Mico Orlandic, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Podgorica, 28 October 2003.

²¹ Small Arms Survey interview with Dragica Vucelja, OSCE Podgorica Office, Podgorica, 15 October 2003.

²² Small Arms Survey written correspondence with Rajo Ljumovic, Advisor to the Deputy Minister, Montenegrin Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1 June 2004.

²³ Small Arms Survey interview with Mico Orlandic, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Podgorica, 28 October 2003. Small arms imports data obtained from the Montenegrin Customs Department (SAS interview with Dragan Nikolic, Montenegrin Customs Department, Podgorica, 28 October 2003) revealed that MUP acquired 771 Glock pistols in 2003.

²⁴ Small Arms Survey interview with Mico Orlandic, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Podgorica, 28 October 2003, and with a Montenegrin uniformed police officer who wished to remain anonymous, Podgorica, 17 October 2003.

²⁵ Claiming that only 10,000 - 12,000 weapons were distributed to reservists is most likely an underestimate, as some reports suggest that the size of the Reserve Defence Force reached up to 25,000 'well-armed' volunteers (Jane's Intelligence Pointers, 1999). However, as many of the weapons distributed to civilians were never returned to MUP (see SAPS section), many of the small arms distributed are taken into account under the 'civilian stockpile' estimate above. As a result, 10,000 - 12,000 should be taken as reflecting the number of reserve weapons MUP had a minimum level of control upon in 2001.

²⁶ Small Arms Survey interview with Mico Orlandic, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Podgorica, 28 October 2003.

²⁷ Small Arms Survey interview with Hoyt Brian Yee, United States Consulate Principal Officer, Podgorica, 28 October 2003.



27 May 2003 destroying a total of 5,027 SALW at the Niksic industrial complex.²⁸ These included 1,770 SALW collected from civilians during the ‘farewell to arms’ amnesty campaign,²⁹ the other 3,200 presumably coming from state owned surplus stockpiles or weapons seized by the police from criminals. The downsizing of MUP forces, however, implies a much larger number of surplus SALW, which need adequate storage and destruction.

Weapon Types	Number Destroyed
Revolvers	89
Pistols	872
Shotguns	147
Rifles	1,704
Assault rifles	1,021
Sub-machine guns	90
Light-machine guns	397
Medium-machine guns	450
Heavy-machine guns	257
TOTAL	5,027

Table 5: SALW destroyed in Niksic, 27 May 2003 ³⁰

National security in Montenegro is the responsibility of the Serbia and Montenegro State Union Army, as specified in the Constitutional Charter of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, which was ratified in February 2003. Under the charter, the army is controlled by the Supreme Defence Council, a State Union level body composed of the President of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, the President of Serbia and the President of Montenegro (State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, 2003, Article XVIII). The State Union Army is currently being reformed, with a preference among Montenegrin officials for downsizing the army’s presence in Montenegro.³¹ According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Serbia and Montenegro armed forces currently include 74,200 active troops and 280,000 reserves.³² In July 2003, the Defence Minister of Serbia and Montenegro declared the total strength of the army to be 62,000 service personnel, with an additional 16,000 civilians.³³

In the absence of official statistics, it is difficult to say what proportion of these troops are currently stationed in Montenegro. From 2000 to 2001, the Yugoslav army’s (VJ) presence in Montenegro comprised 14,000 troops and 1,000 military police ³⁴, which represents a 9,000 decrease compared to the VJ’s presence in Montenegro at the end of the Kosovo conflict.³⁵ Given the ongoing downsizing of the State Union Army and the fact that the peacetime presence of VJ troops in Montenegro was estimated to be around 12,000 ³⁶, we use this number here to determine the size of State Union Army SALW stockpiles. Previous research has shown that VJ troops were amongst the most heavily armed in the world, with an average of 4.5 weapons per soldier.³⁷ On the other

²⁸ SEESAC SALW Destruction Database (www.seesac.org).

²⁹ SEESAC SALW Collection Database (www.seesac.org).

³⁰ SEESAC SALW Destruction Database (www.seesac.org).

³¹ Small Arms Survey interview with Vesko Garcevic, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Podgorica, 29 October 2003.

³² Source: IISS, 2003.

³³ Source: Jane’s Defence Weekly, 2003.

³⁴ Source: Jane’s Intelligence Digest, 2000, 2001.

³⁵ Source: Jane’s Defence Weekly, 1999.

³⁶ Source: Jane’s Defence Weekly, 1999.

³⁷ Source: Small Arms Survey, 2001, pp. 75-77.



hand, given ongoing restructuring and modernisation, it is likely that this multiplier is being cut down to meet international standards, which based on the Canadian example can be as low as 2.25 weapons per soldier.³⁸ As a result, using 2.25 and 4.5 as lower and upper multipliers respectively, we deduct that the State Union Army has between 27,000 and 54,000 SALW stockpiled in Montenegro.

2.4 Small arms transfers in Montenegro

Legal transfers

The volume of the legal trade in small arms in Montenegro appears to be relatively modest. Customs and MUP officials claim that the amount of arms exports from Montenegro is negligible.³⁹ This is difficult to verify, however, as Serbia and Montenegro has not reported any small arms exports or imports to the United Nations COMTRADE database since 2000.

With respect to imports, the Customs department provided a list of SALW imported into Montenegro for 2003. The value of legal imports is relatively modest, with approximately EU 560,000 worth of small arms and ammunition having been imported to Montenegro from January to October 2003.⁴⁰ The largest shipment involved 771 Glock pistols imported by MUP for a total value of approximately EU 300,000. The remainder involves ammunition, pistols, revolvers, and rifles imported by a few authorised firms that then resell the weapons to licensed gun shops.⁴¹

Trafficking

Due to its geographical location, Montenegro has experienced several well-documented instances of arms smuggling. One of the most notorious examples to date involves the 2002 alleged sale of cruise missile technology and other heavy equipment by Former Yugoslav Army officials and the state-owned Jugoimport firm to Iraq, despite this recipient country being sanctioned by UN Security Council arms embargoes. These weapons were shipped from the Montenegrin port of Bar and transited through Syria before being delivered to Iraq.⁴² With respect to small arms, Montenegro has been cited in the media as an important transshipment point for weapons smuggled from Serbia to the Middle East⁴³, from Russia to Libya⁴⁴, from the Balkans to Western Europe⁴⁵, but also as a regional transit point between Bosnia and Kosovo.⁴⁶

In the post Milosevic era, however, both international institutions⁴⁷ and Montenegrin officials agree that small arms trafficking across borders is becoming negligible in Montenegro and the region as a whole. The total number of weapons seized by the Montenegrin police has been decreasing steadily from 1,841 in 1998 to 738 in 2003.⁴⁸ Border police and custom officers report only four major small arms seizures at the borders from January

³⁸ Source: Small Arms Survey, 2001, p.74.

³⁹ Small Arms Survey interviews with Mico Orlandic, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Podgorica, 28 October 2003, and Dragan Nikolic, Montenegrin Customs Department, Podgorica, 28 October 2003.

⁴⁰ Data provided by Dragan Nikolic, Montenegrin Customs Department, Podgorica, 28 October 2003.

⁴¹ Small arms importing firms from January to October 2003 include Boom Company (Podgorica), Kuljaca Company (Budva), Idea (Podgorica), Una (Tivat), Bratogost SD (Niksic) and Jugoimport Montenegro (Podgorica).

⁴² International Crisis Group (ICG). *Arming Saddam: the Yugoslav connection*. Balkans Report No 136. 03 December 2002.

⁴³ Source: *Podgorica Dan*, 2002.

⁴⁴ Source: *Zagreb Nacional*, 2001.

⁴⁵ Sources: *Zagreb Focus*, 2000 and *Tirana Gazeta Shqiptare*, 1999.

⁴⁶ Sources: *Sarajevo BH Press*, 2001, and *European Stars and Stripes*, 2001.

⁴⁷ Small Arms Survey phone interview with Paul Acda, UNMIK customs, 26 September 2003.

⁴⁸ Small Arms Survey written correspondence with Rajo Ljumovic, Advisor to the Deputy Minister, Montenegrin Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1 June 2004.



to October 2003.⁴⁹ These cases involved either small numbers of pistols (half a dozen) and/or ammunition (from 2,000 to 7,000 rounds) trafficked from Albania to Bosnia through Kosovo and Montenegro.⁵⁰

This trend is also confirmed by the press review, with *Vijesti* reporting only three SALW smuggling cases from January to November 2003 involving ammunition and pistols.⁵¹ Two of these smuggling attempts occurred at the border crossing with Bosnia in Pljevlja municipality, the last one taking place in Ulcinj municipality near the Albanian border. In all three cases, small numbers of weapons and ammunition were being smuggled into Montenegro. It is important to note, however, that Montenegrin authorities only controlled the coast, the border with Kosovo and part of the Albanian border as of October 2003. The State Union Army still controls large sections of the border, (BiH, Serbia and most of the Albanian border), but is scheduled to progressively entrust border control to Montenegrin authorities.

Another good indicator of the state of the black market for firearms are their street prices, which are informative when using a standard supply and demand economic analysis. It was reported to the Small Arms Survey that illicit pistols could be obtained for EU 300 - 500 in Podgorica, and AK-47s for as low as EU 100.⁵² These low black market prices, (by comparison, authorised gun shops sell new handguns for EU 750 - 1250, rifles for approximately EU 2,500⁵³), indicate that the supply of illicit weapons is high compared to demand.

These prices confirm the extent to which the domestic illicit small arms market is saturated. This is a surprising finding, given that insecurity seems to persist both in terms of crime rates, (see SAIS section on crime), and perceptions, (see SAPS section), which should contribute to a high demand for illicit weapons. Similarly, and as discussed above, illicit trafficking at the border is scarce and the police is increasingly cracking down on illicit possession,⁵⁴ which should limit the supply of illicit weapons. These contradictory findings might actually confirm the conclusions on civilian possession drawn above, that firearm ownership is already so high that insecurity does not imply a high demand for guns: most people already have one. In other words, since the black market for guns is saturated by the high number of guns already in the country, there is therefore no point in trafficking additional firearms into Montenegro.

⁴⁹ Small Arms Survey interview with Milan Paunovic, Montenegrin Border Police, 16 October 2003. Small Arms Survey interview with Jole Cavlovic, president of the private security firm 'Fast Worker,' Podgorica, 25 October 2003.

⁵⁰ Small Arms Survey interview with Milan Paunovic, Montenegrin Border Police, 16 October 2003.

⁵¹ Pajevic, 2003.

⁵² Small Arms Survey interview with Jole Cavlovic, president of the private security firm 'Fast Worker,' Podgorica, 25 October 2003.

⁵³ Small Arms Survey visit to 'Beretta' gun shop, Podgorica, 25 October 2003.

⁵⁴ *Vijesti* reported several incidents of celebratory shootings in October 2003 where perpetrators were arrested by the police, including members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Minister of Minority Rights (Pajevic, 2003).





3 Small Arms Impact Survey (SAIS)

The SADS revealed that a large number of registered and unregistered small arms are in civilian hands. This section highlights the extent of small arms misuse, in other words which uses of small arms pose problems in the Montenegrin context. These misuses include small arms use in violent crimes such as homicides, assaults and kidnappings, as well as non-violent small arms related crimes such as smuggling and celebratory shootings. Lastly, this section reviews the extent of the public health toll generated by small arms injuries.

3.1 Small arms use in violent crime

Montenegro experiences relatively high violent crime rates both for the region and compared with Western countries. Figure 3 shows how, from an international perspective, Montenegro faces relatively, although not excessively high, homicide rates. One important feature is that most Montenegrin homicides appear to be committed with firearms, a fact that suggests that small arms are widely available to population groups at risk of committing violent crime, such as young men. The Vijesti review confirms this pattern, as 85% of homicides (17 out of 20), reported by the Montenegrin daily from January to November 2003 were committed with small arms.⁵⁵

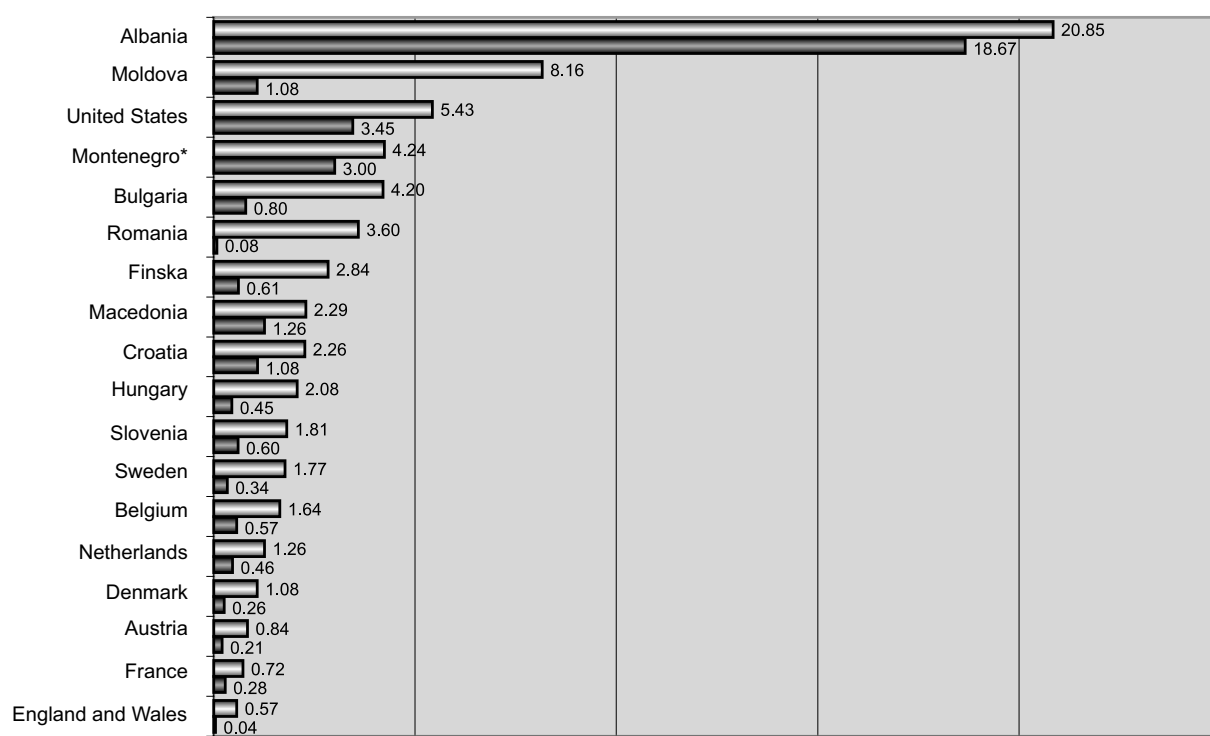


Figure 3: Homicide rates (overall and firearm) in Montenegro and selected countries

Note: All figures, except for Montenegro, are taken from the Small Arms Survey firearms mortality database.⁵⁶

Note: The overall homicide rate for Montenegro is taken from the 2001 OSCE Report and reflects the situation in the country in 2001.

Note: The firearm homicide rate for Montenegro was provided to the Small Arms Survey by Mico Orlandic, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Pajevic, 2003.

⁵⁶ Original sources available upon request.

⁵⁷ Small Arms Survey interview, Podgorica, 28 October 2003.



As shown in Figure 4, violent crime levels have fluctuated in different ways since 1999. While assaults committed with weapons seem to have slightly decreased since 1999, the number of homicides has remained steady and the number of armed robberies has rapidly increased, although the latter remains at a relatively low level. As a result, it appears that, overall, violent crime levels have remained more or less steady since 1999.

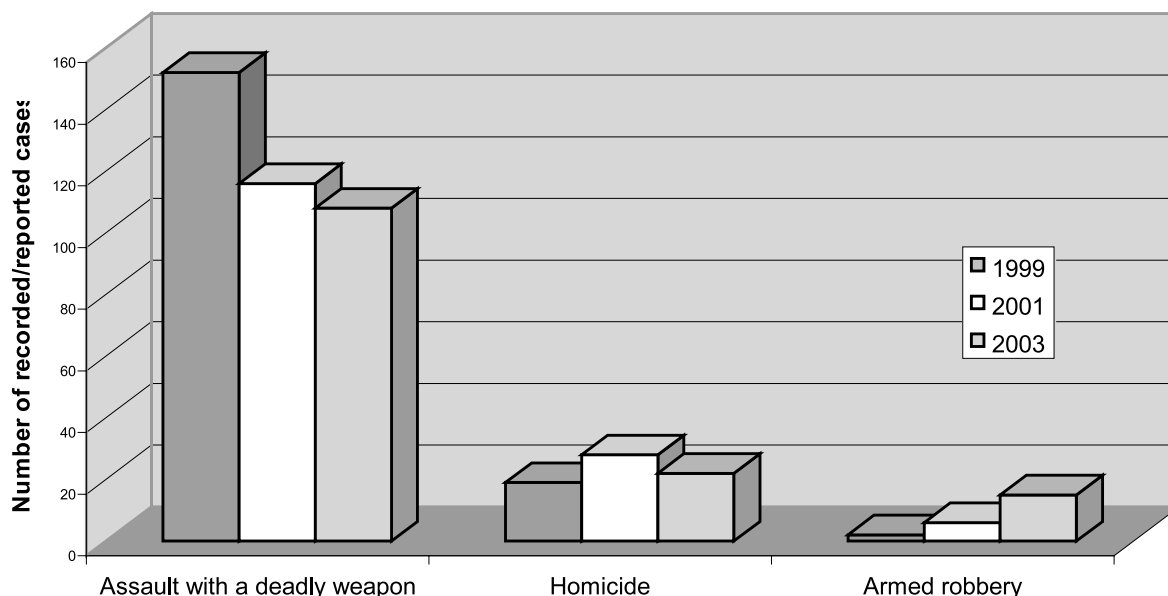


Figure 4: Violent crime in Montenegro, 1999 - 2003⁵⁸

Although Vijesti reported ten cases of gun robbery and two kidnappings involving the threat of a firearm, assaults were the most prominent small arm crime in 2003 with over seventy cases involving the use of small arms, (which represents 72 % of all assaults reported). As a result, the following is primarily a discussion of the use of small arms in assaults.

Figure 5 shows the incidence of assaults involving small arms ⁵⁹ on a monthly basis for 2003. In other rural contexts small arm crime was found to reflect seasonal trends, with higher crime rates during the harvest season (see the seasonal crime trends in Georgia, for example, in Demetriou, 2002, p. 47). This does not appear to be the case in Montenegro, where most shootings occur during bar fights or street fights between groups of young men. This is confirmed in Figure 6, which shows that most small arms assaults occur from 18:00 to 23:59 hours. The available data also shows that gun assaults which occur in the evening are more dangerous and violent than those taking place in the afternoon: while both time ranges experienced a similar number of gun assaults in 2003, those which occurred in the evening resulted in more than twice as many deaths than those which took place in the afternoon. A significant number of small arms related assaults also appears to occur late night and early morning. Late night assaults often involved the destruction of property using explosives or grenades, usually targeting cars or houses.⁶⁰ A negligible number of gun assaults occur in the morning.

⁵⁸ 1999 and 2001 data taken from OSCE Reports 2001. 2001 figures are based on data available for the first 6 months of that year, which were then multiplied by two. As a result, 2001 figures may not reflect seasonal crime trends, if any. 2003 data is based on January-November 2003 data taken from Pajevic, 2003.

⁵⁹ Assaults involving small arms, or gun assaults refer to incidents where a small arm was intentionally fired against another person or property, no matter what the outcome (injury, death or none) might have been.

⁶⁰ Pajevic, 2003.

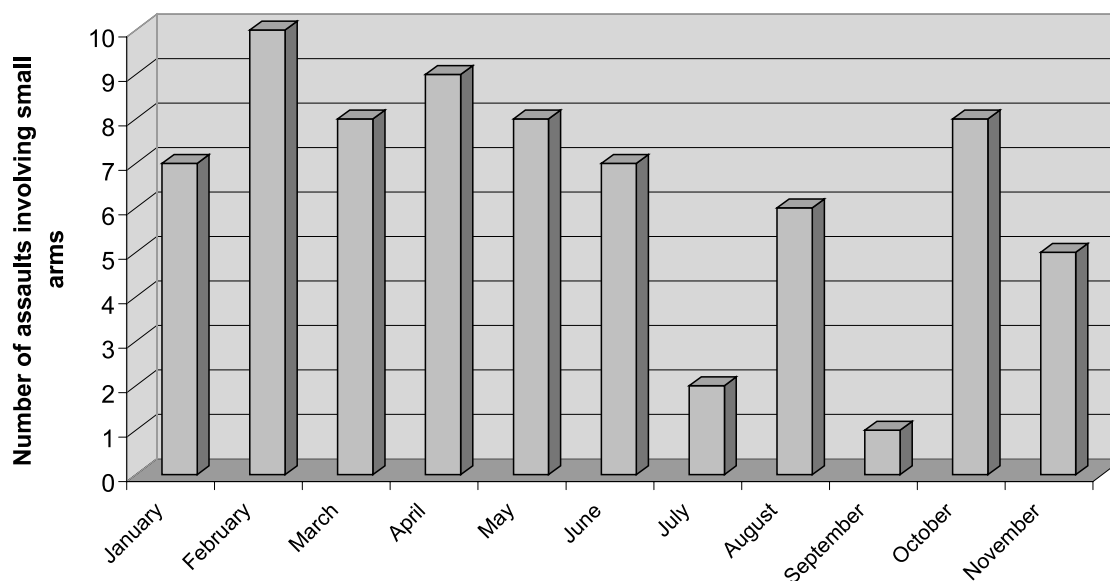


Figure 5: Monthly distribution of assaults involving small arms, January-November 2003

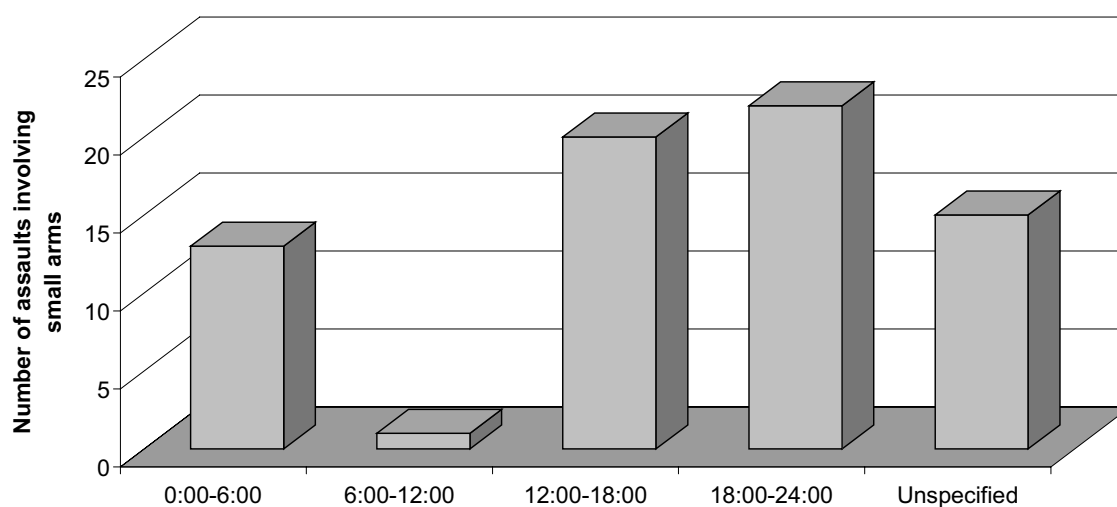


Figure 6: Distribution of assaults involving small arms by time of the day

The geographical distribution of small arms assaults is uneven. The number of gun assaults per 100,000 inhabitants appears to be highest in Cetinje, Bar, Niksic, Podgorica, Kolasin and Budva municipalities, which all experienced gun assault rates greater than 16 per 100,000 in 2003, (see Figure 7). The relatively high rates experienced in the little-populated municipalities of Cetinje, Kolasin and Budva (all populated by fewer than 22,000 people) are noteworthy, as they contradict assumptions that crime rates are higher in large urban centres than in rural areas.

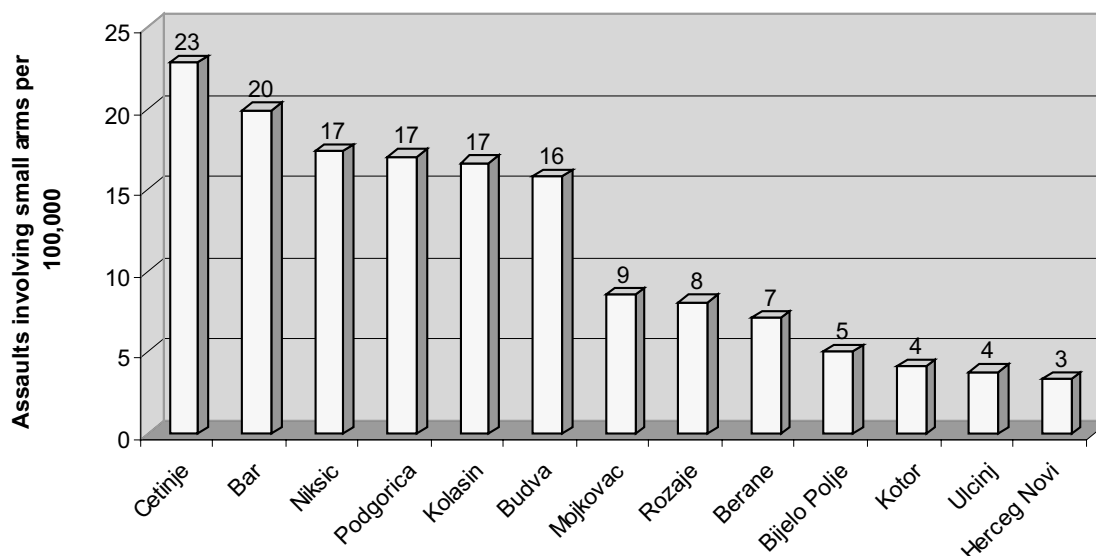


Figure 7: Per 100,000 gun assault rates by municipality

Nearly all (99%) victims and perpetrators of gun assaults in 2003 appeared to be men. Age distribution was more balanced, although the young populations are most at risk of both conducting and becoming victims of gun assaults: based on Figure 8, over 45% of victims and perpetrators were aged 15 to 29. More than 30% of both perpetrators and victims were aged 30 to 44, while between 15% and 20% were aged 45 to 59. It is noteworthy to point out that a few assaults were carried out by men aged over 60. One such case involved a 66 year old who threw a grenade at his brother during an argument, thereby injuring eight people.

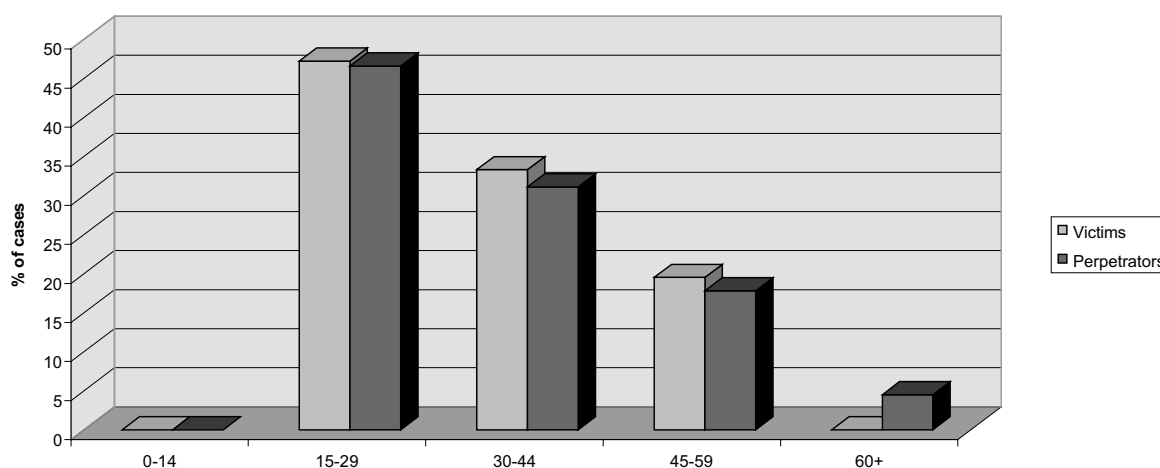


Figure 8: Age distribution of small arm assault victims and perpetrators

Handguns, and more specifically pistols, appear to be the primary weapon used in assaults. Indeed, this type of weapon was involved in at least 35% of such cases, (see Figure 9). It is also important to note that although most assaults were carried out using unregistered weapons, in some cases registered handguns were also used. Other small arm types commonly used in assaults included explosives, automatic rifles, hunting rifles and grenades.

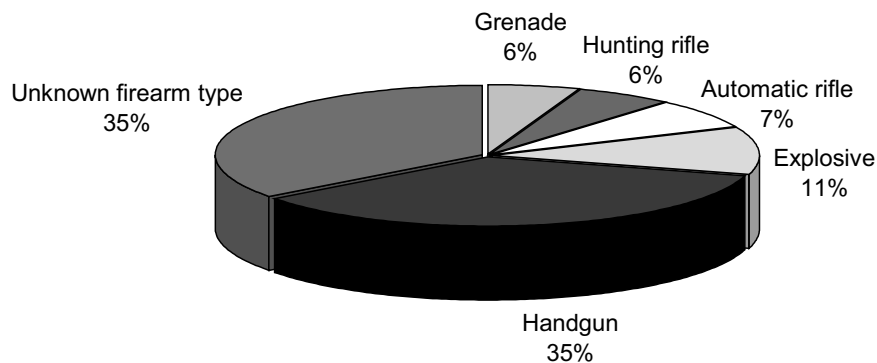


Figure 9: Small arm types used in assaults

3.2 Small arms and non-violent crime

Small arms are also used in so-called 'petty crimes,' which in Montenegro include mainly illegal possession and illegal 'celebratory' use. With respect to illicit possession of firearms, statistics vary from source to source. Criminal justice sources claim that approximately 3,000 to 4,000 such cases go to court on an annual basis,⁶¹ while MUP gave a range of 1,000 - 1,800.⁶² The OSCE reported between 82 and 147 annual cases of illegal possession between 1999 and 2001.⁶³ From January to November 2003, Vijesti reported seven cases of illicit possession, involving a wide range of weapon types including pistols, ammunition, automatic rifles and bazookas.

Regarding illegal use, the firing of weapons during celebrations (births, birthdays, weddings, official holidays such as Christmas) is cited as common practice in Montenegro. Although celebratory shootings are not systematically reported in the press, Vijesti reported nine incidents that involved civil servants in September and October 2003.⁶⁴ Seven cases involved policemen, while in another case the Minister for the Protection of Minority Rights was arrested by the authorities for several hours after shooting his weapon during a celebration. The use of firearms in celebrations can have dramatic effects as stray bullets may hit unintended targets. On 02 September 2003, for instance, a nine year old girl was gravely wounded by a stray bullet coming presumably from a celebratory shooting.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Small Arms Survey interview with Nada Bjekovic, Criminal Circuit Judge, Podgorica, 17 October 2003.

⁶² Small Arms Survey interview with Mico Orlandic, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Podgorica, 28 October 2003.

⁶³ OSCE Report 2001, p 116.

⁶⁴ Pajevic, 2003.

⁶⁵ Pajevic, 2003.



3.3 Public health impacts

Small arms misuse inflicts an important public health burden on the Montenegrin population. Based on a comprehensive press review for January - November 2003, it appears that as many as 88 Montenegrins were injured by a SALW, with 27 of these injuries ultimately resulting in the victim's death. By comparison, only 3 out of 25 people injured by knives died as a result of their injuries. The gender balance of the victims of small arms misuse is skewed towards men, who account for more than three quarters of those killed and 90% of those injured by small arms.

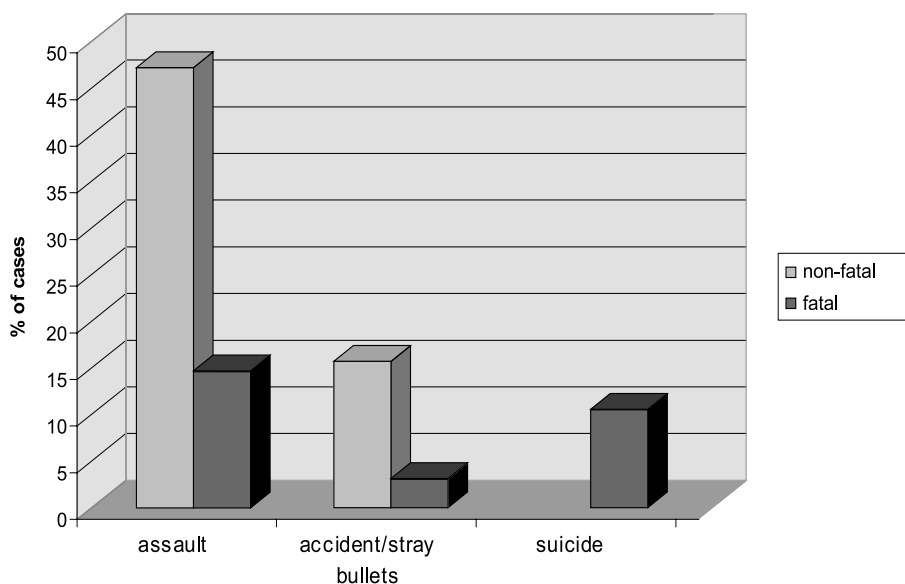


Figure 10: Small arms injuries, by circumstance, January-November 2003

As reported in Figure 10, the use of small arms in criminal assaults imposes the greatest burden on Montenegro's public health. When they do not kill, they cause serious injury and stray bullets risk hitting bystanders. From January to November 2003, assaults involving small arms occasioned 45 injuries and 14 deaths, (see Figure 11). During the same period, 15 people were injured and three others were killed by a stray bullet or from mishandling a small arm. Lastly, 10 people were reported by *Vijesti* to have committed suicide with a firearm.⁶⁶

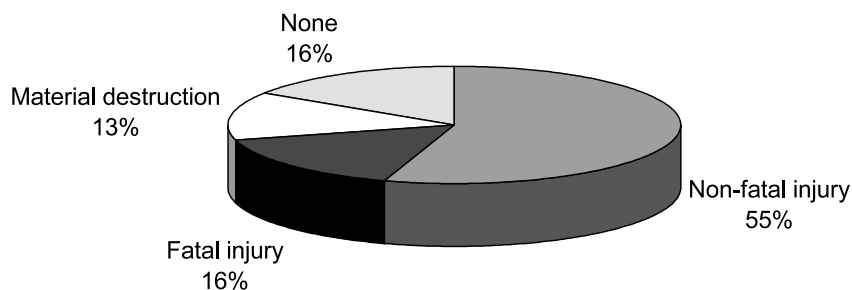


Figure 11: Outcome of assaults involving small arms (in % of total cases; n=82)

⁶⁶ It should be noted that the number of firearm suicides reported in the media might under represent reality, as newspapers tend to pay less attention to suicides than to homicides. In effect, the firearm homicide rate derived from the press review matched the data provided by the MUP.

4 Small Arms Perception Survey (SAPS)

In order to evaluate Montenegrin perceptions on gun availability and use, the security environment, security providers, and past and future weapons collection initiatives, the research team conducted

- seven participatory focus groups held in seven cities throughout Montenegro;⁶⁷
- 1,199 person household survey; and
- interviews with governmental and non-governmental officials, academics, and average citizens in Podgorica.

From these efforts, it is clear that the main perception of Montenegrins is that SALW are both a traditional as well as a dangerous part of Montenegrin society.

4.1 Perceptions of SALW availability and ownership

For any weapons collection program to succeed, the authorities must be aware of the methods by which and the reasons why citizens obtain and possess weapons. Inquiries about SALW availability and ownership produced a variety of responses from household survey respondents, many of which appear to be both counter-intuitive and contradictory. Respondents' perceptions about the role that weapons play in society proved to be the most interesting, if not perplexing. In spite of the fact that 84% of all household respondents believe that there are too many guns in Montenegro and 37.8% believe that guns are dangerous, approximately the same number of respondents (37.5%) admits that they would own a gun legally if given the opportunity.

When probed as to the reasons why the respondent's household would choose to own a firearm, protection of one's self and family was the primary reason given by 43.8% of respondents. As indicated in Figure 12, other responses included protection of property (15.2%), sport shooting (10.1%), hunting (8.2%), "because a lot of people have guns" (5.6%), having a risky profession (4.2%), to contribute to the overall safety of the community (3.4%), and finally, for political reasons (1.2%). The remainder of respondents were either unable to comment on why they would choose to own a weapon (2.2%) or refused to answer (3.4%).⁶⁸

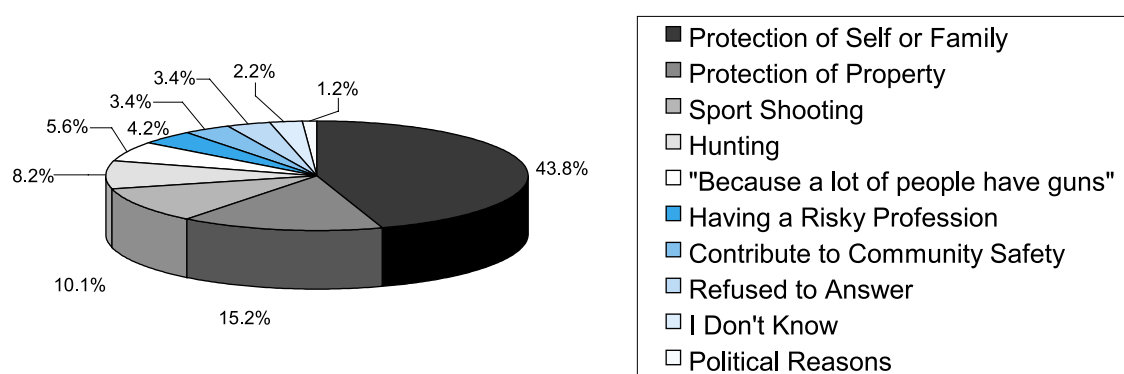


Figure 12: Why choose to own a firearm?

⁶⁷ The focus groups were held in Berane, Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja, Podgorica, Nik, Bar, and Kotor. Each group consisted of 10 members, five men and five women, for a total of 70 persons participating. In each group, participants represented a variety of ages, educational backgrounds, and occupations.

⁶⁸ For similar survey results, see CEDEM "Montenegrin Public Opinion in 2003." Podgorica, April 2003, p. 45.



Some of the focus group discussions also fleshed out the primary motivations behind firearm ownership in Montenegro. A total of six different factors were identified as reasons why Montenegrin citizens elect to possess guns.

- a) there is a *perceived cultural tradition* that Montenegrins are “devoted to weapons,” leading them to sustain the custom of keeping a weapon in the house generation after generation. In contrast to household survey data, which suggests that nearly half of respondents would choose not to own a gun legally even if they were able, focus group participants generally agreed that Montenegrins have an “innate inclination towards violence” and that possessing and using weapons is one fundamental means of expressing this inclination. Further, focus group participants think that citizens struggle with the conception of renouncing weapons for the greater good of society because, to many citizens, weapons symbolise a strong national tradition and a part of their history that citizens are not yet ready to renounce.
- b) focus group participants feel that the wars that *occured in neighbouring countries* directly contributed to the large quantities of weapons present in Montenegro. They point out that Montenegrins who served in the Yugoslav Army participated in some of these conflicts and brought either their official weapons or arms collected from the battlefield back with them to their homes in Montenegro. In this manner, many weapons from other countries Montenegrin citizens and brought into circulation in Montenegro. Participants also suggested that the regional wars also created feelings of “vulnerability and fear” in the population, which prompted many members in the population to obtain guns, both legal and illegal, for personal protection;
- c) the *political tensions* that have persisted in Montenegro during the last fifteen years are cited as a reason for widespread possession of weapons. Participants point out that in the past, political parties distributed weapons to their supporters and constituents in the hopes of arming the population to protect those leaders and their interests from external threats. This particular incident refers to the arming of political supporters during the period of high tension in 1997-1998, leading up to the political and potentially military standoff between President Milo Djukanovic of Montenegro and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Former Yugoslavia. This standoff ultimately engendered feelings of insecurity among Montenegrin citizens, which encouraged them to accept the weapons handed out by the government in an effort to defend themselves. Participants in the focus groups pointed out how this sequence of events was paradoxical in a sense, because the state was one of the parties responsible for arming the population and increasing the number of guns in circulation in Montenegro and now their role has become one of retrieving those weapons. Although participants admit that such tensions are lower presently, in contrast to those that persisted throughout the last decade, they are still reluctant to relinquish weapons until they are “convinced that these tensions are not a threat to their personal safety any more”;⁶⁹
- d) the feelings of insecurity present in the population have caused many citizens to obtain weapons for personal security at both work and at home and much of this insecurity is caused by *increased levels of crime* and criminal operations *present in society*. The opinion of many participants is that possession of weapons is justified by their need to secure personal safety at times when government institutions, such as the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the police, cannot provide adequate security for the population. Participants perceive crime and the rise of criminal activities in society as a relatively new phenomenon that began in the early nineties as an outgrowth of the decay of traditional social and moral values that was



Christmas Eve celebration shooting in front of the King's Palace in Cetinje.

⁶⁹ Center for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM). 2003. *Household Survey Results*. Interim report. Podgorica: CEDEM. November.



set in motion by the series of violent conflicts in the region. As criminal activity increases in Montenegrin society, citizens will continue to require weapons to protect themselves from internal threats;

- e) the *impact that mass media has had upon the youth* in Montenegro. Participants are concerned that Western cultural images that weapons can be “status symbols” and can make young men into “tough guys” have encouraged young people to obtain guns at earlier ages to gain status. In the focus groups, some participants suggested that this behaviour of possessing and carrying weapons is a way to tell the world that they are “dangerous” and “cannot be messed with.” This pattern of behaviour is relatively new and represents the impact that the mass media has had on the younger generation in Montenegro; and
- f) a final reason for weapons acquisition is for those who are motivated by the *seductive profits of the arms trade* in Montenegro. Participants in Pljevlja municipality, a border area, particularly identified with this motivation. The struggling economy contributes to the draw that some citizens feel to enter the profession of arms smuggling in order to survive in a difficult economic climate.

However, results from the household survey would suggest that not all members of society would elect to possess firearms. When asked the question of why the respondent’s household would choose NOT to own a weapon, three clear responses emerged;

- a) the household does not like guns (36.8%);
- b) a gun is dangerous for the family in the house (i.e. children) (23.9%); and
- c) the household does not need one (25.4%).

Other responses ranged from the danger to the community that a gun presents (6.7%), members of the household are afraid of guns (2.8%), and the respondent is not trained how to use a gun (2.5%). The responses to these two questions clearly illustrate that while there is a spectrum of reasons to own a weapon in Montenegro, safety and disinterest in weapons are the primary reasons that resonate with those members of the population who elect not to own a weapon.

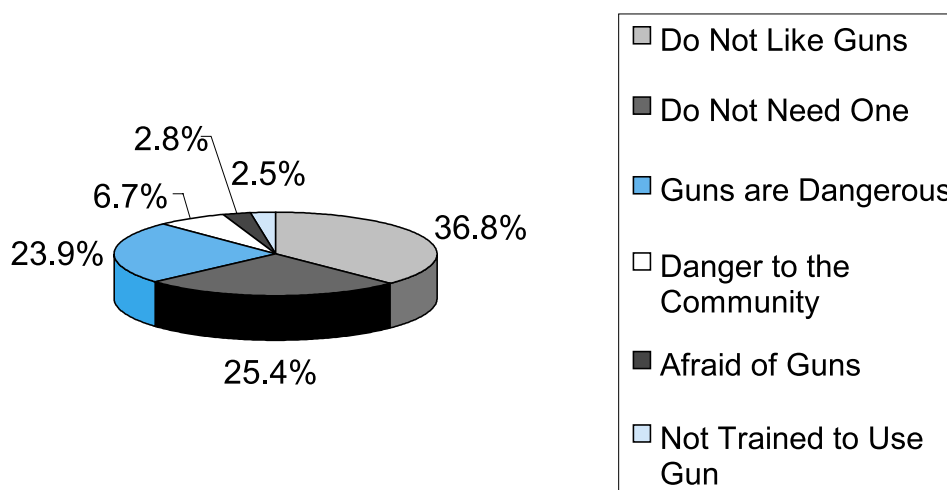


Figure 13: Reasons Not to Own a Firearm

Gendered Perceptions of SALW

Very surprisingly, household survey results show little variation between the perceptions of men and women on the amount of firearms in society: there is equal distribution of men and women in the 84.4% of society who believe that there are simply too many guns in circulation. It is difficult to explain this finding. More predictably, the more pronounced differences in gender perceptions relate to the percentages of men and women that would choose to acquire a gun legally if the opportunity were to present itself and to the reasons for doing so. Differences also existed regarding the perceptions of how dangerous weapons are: men are divided equally on



the issue, while women generally are in agreement that weapons are dangerous rather than a means to keeping one's family safe.

Despite the fact that respondents feel safe in their neighbourhoods in spite of the large numbers of guns in circulation, a majority of both men and women answered that they felt security in their area compared to 2002 was either the same or had improved. 42.6% of men and 43% of women felt security has “stayed the same,” while 22.6% of men and 12.9% of women felt security has improved. Furthermore, it seems that both men and women perceive their own neighbourhood to be at least the same (51.6% of men and 52% of women) or safer (27.4% of men and 21.7% of women) than other areas in Montenegro.

There is little variation regarding gendered views of measures to tighten security. When respondents were asked how much particular policies would tighten security, adding together the percentages of respondents that answered “a lot” or “somewhat” in each case, the results are as follows:

- **Tightening border control:** 61.57% men, 63.2% women (“A lot” - 38.0% men, 63.2% women);
- **Improve the capacity of the police:** 30.2% men, 32.1% women (“A lot” - 9.4% men, 11.2% women);
- **Greater control of legal licenses for firearms:** 63.5% men, 60.8% women (“A lot” - 48.0% men, 51.1% women);
- **Control of arm sellers:** 61.5% men, 65.5% women (“A lot” - 49.5% men, 55.7% women);
- **Harsher punishment for illegal weapons possession:** 72.5% men, 75.9% women (“A lot” - 63.4% men, 69.7% women);
- **Collecting illegal guns:** 63.9% men, 62.7% women (“A lot” - 49.2% men, 51.4% women).

When asked about the hypothetical situation of an announcement for illegal weapons collection, 47.2% of men and 41.9% of women, gave their personal opinion that the action would be “unsuccessful.” This is roughly 14 percentage points more than the 33.4% of men and 27.2% of women who said such an action would be “successful.” Moreover, respondents were asked whether or not they believed that people who own guns illegally would hand them over in any upcoming collection. 41.6% of men and 50.1% of women said they thought it was “unlikely.”

One final gender trend in focus group research is worth noting. 32.8% of men and 43% of women believe that having guns is dangerous to their families, while 32.8% of men and only 14.8% of women chose the alternative opinion offered – that having a gun helps to protect the family. Yet, 54.3% of men and 20.2% of women would acquire a gun legally if given the opportunity to do so. Only 33.9% of men compared to 66.9% of women said that they would not. These findings agree with comments made in both the focus groups and in interviews conducted by the research team, that men are traditionally the purchasers and possessors of firearms in Montenegro, while the majority of women feel that guns are dangerous and there are too many circulating in society.



Christmas Eve in front of the Serbian Orthodox Church - January 2003.

S. Prelević. 2003.

4.2 Perceptions of SALW use

While interviews with Montenegrin officials and discussions with focus group participants reveal a tolerant attitude towards possession of firearms that remain in the home, the majority of society condemns the carrying of weapons in public places. There is a new draft law on firearms that bans the public carriage of weapons, which is currently being reviewed by government officials and should be sent to Parliament for a vote by the end of 2003. This new legislation reflects society's desire to halt this dangerous practice of carrying weapons in public places. Participants in the focus groups point out that there is a distinction between possessing a firearm in the home, where the presence of the gun can be seen as an act of defence of personal security and property, and carrying guns in public, which is viewed as an aggressive act that has the possibility of endangering the safety and the security of others.

Similarly, household survey respondents identified a number of different common reasons, all of which are deemed as justified within the community, for people in their community to own weapons. Personal protection was cited as the primary reason for firearms ownership (22.2%), while the tradition of owning a weapon did not fall that far behind as a justification (21.8%). Other responses varied from holding onto weapons left over from the regional conflicts (7.3%), needing a weapon for occupational security (6.3%), to protect one's property (6.0%), for hunting purposes (4.1%), political security (3.2%), and keeping it as a valued family possession (2.6%). 12.9% of household respondents said that they were unsure of why people in their community possess weapons, while another 5.8% of respondents refused to answer this question.

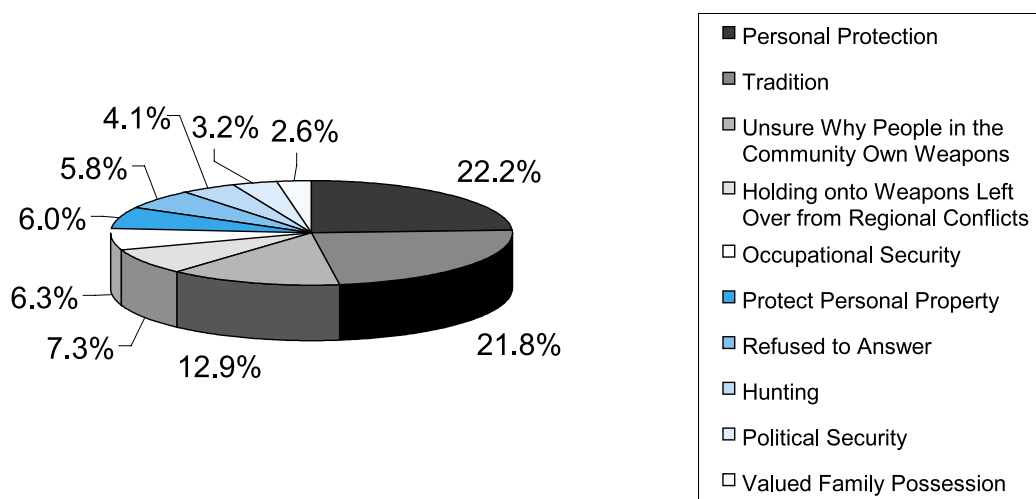


Figure 14: Reasons for firearm ownership

Focus group participants, however, made distinctions between those uses of guns that are regarded as legitimate and socially acceptable and those that are condemned and deemed to be unacceptable. Special occasions, such as the birth of a son and sports events, do merit firing weapons into the air in the eyes of the participants. Holiday and celebrations (Christmas, New Year's, weddings and farewells to the army), are also special exceptions that fall into this category. Furthermore, the use of a weapon to protect an individual's physical safety is justified in the eyes of society.

However, there are a number of actions involving firearms that are unacceptable to society, mostly due to the physical danger in which the use of guns in public places puts others. Use of automatic weapons is seen to be unacceptable, as are the use of firearms in clashes between criminal elements or violent individuals. Further, firing a weapon while under the influence of drugs or alcohol is widely condemned by citizens.



4.3 Perceptions of gun culture

In an interview with Dr. Anja Backovic, a psychologist who works for the Ministry of Education, she asserted that there is a gun culture present in Montenegro. Dr Backovic pointed out that Montenegrins, mostly men, rationalise the use of weapons by clinging to the image of a “traditional” heritage of weapons ownership. Although citizens know that, legally, it is wrong to fire weapons in the air to celebrate, they use their concept of tradition as a shield or a justification for firing weapons to express a variety of positive and negative emotions: happiness, pride, and excitement.⁷⁰

In the past, prior to the technological channels of communication available today, weapons were used to pass on information to neighbouring villages. Dr Backovic pointed out that weapons shot into the air during previous eras could communicate the birth of a son or the marriage of a daughter to friends in neighbouring villages who were unable to be present. These shootings communicated the father’s happiness and need to express this emotion to others. However, in the present day of cell phones, SMS messages, and automobiles, weapons are no longer necessary to pass along this information. Still, citizens cling to the traditional methods of expressing emotions or communicating information with a weapon.⁷¹

As previously discussed, focus group participants named “tradition” as the primary reason why Montenegrin households possess weapons. By the word tradition, they refer to a cultural structure, which through history has developed the psychological belief that Montenegrins traditionally rely upon weapons for all purposes. In the Montenegrin culture, “these weapons are regarded as powerful symbols of ‘liberty’ and ‘independence’...and are seen as man’s inevitable companion throughout his life.”⁷² Weapons are also seen as a “symbol of courage” and as a tool that is needed “for any occasion.”⁷³ They are further viewed as an inseparable part of Montenegro’s spirit and therefore, the part of Montenegro that makes them “better compared to other nations.”⁷⁴

The majority of interview subjects in Montenegro also seemed to agree with these generalisations.⁷⁵ Most believe that Montenegro indeed has a gun culture due to the traditional role that weapons have held in the home and in the community for hundreds of years. This perception about their culture is definitely a factor that may affect any efforts to encourage citizens to voluntarily handover their weapons. If weapons are seen as an inherent element of the community, it will be more difficult to convince individuals to relinquish them. However, by enacting policies that will begin to break down these stereotypes, people may stop hanging onto the notion that a ‘house is not a home without a weapon.’

4.4 Perceptions towards SALW acquisition

Although household survey respondents believe that the most common method of acquiring a gun in Montenegro is to obtain the appropriate license from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and purchase the weapon legally (28.4%), focus group participants identified four methods through which citizens obtain weapons other than through the legal channels regulated by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

- a) ***Inheritance of the weapon from a father or grandfather.*** These weapons may in fact be antiquated weapons that no longer work, but they represent a time-honoured tradition in Montenegro: handing down the family weapon from one generation to the next in the line of male descendents;

⁷⁰ Small Arms Survey interview with Dr. Anja Backovic, Ministry of Education. Podgorica, Montenegro. October, 2003.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Center for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM). 2003. *Household Survey Results*. Interim report. Podgorica: CEDEM. November.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Small Arms Survey interviews with officials from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Office of the President, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and representatives from the UNDP, OSCE, Montenegro Women’s Lobby, private security firms, and average citizens. Podgorica, July and October 2003.



- b) **Purchasing the weapon on the black market.** As discussed in the focus groups, this is perceived as a very common way of obtaining weapons. This was confirmed in the household survey, as the black market was cited as the second most common source of firearms (25.9% of respondents). Participants say that in practice, once a person disseminates the information that they are interested in purchasing a weapon off the black market, it might only be days—or even hours—until an arms dealer locates the interested party and sets about completing the transaction;
- c) **Bringing the weapon home from the battlefield.** This method of obtaining weapons was the most common during the apex of conflict in neighbouring countries. Soldiers in the army who took part in war operations often brought home “huge quantities of weapons” without any regulation or oversight on these firearms. Some of these former soldiers kept the weapons, while others sold the guns off for profit; or
- d) **Receiving the weapon from an official state, political, military, or paramilitary institution during a period of high tension in society.** Focus group participants pointed that these government-sanctioned weapons issuances only occurred during the periods of tension with neighbouring countries, such as the political standoff with Milosevic’s regime in 1998. However, they collectively agree that many of the weapons that continue to circulate in society today derived from these official stockpiles.

4.5 Individual and community views towards human security

Respondents to the household survey evaluated several choices as to which factors are the greatest sources of insecurity in society. Crime was ranked the highest with (39.5%), followed closely by economic insecurity (37.7%). Other factors that cause citizens to feel insecure are political insecurity (9.9%), unsafe roads (2.4%), and “other” conditions (4.8%). Surprisingly, in spite of the belief that arms are widely available in society and that they are a danger to the citizenry, small arms availability was only cited as the main source of insecurity in Montenegro by 5.7% of respondents. Part of the reason for this apparent contradiction is that Montenegrins are most likely aware of the presence of weapons in society, but do not appear to commonly face weapons in a threatening encounter, such as a robbery or murder, but instead in community occasions, such as a holiday or wedding, where their neighbours will shoot their guns in celebration. These celebrations have, however, caused many accidental deaths in Montenegro in the past and concern over this ongoing trend is part of the momentum behind the official support for the new law that bans carrying weapons in public.⁷⁶

4.6 Individual and community views towards security providers

In a number of casual conversations with Montenegrin citizens, most indicate mistrust of the police. Discussions in the seven focus groups also support the finding that there are low levels of trust in the police and a generally negative attitude of citizens towards the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Some of the views of the participants are that the police are biased, behave rudely and unprofessionally, frequently use policies of nepotism, and are often used as a “repressive instrument of the state” that strictly follow the politics of the party in power.

An additional reason that citizens mistrust the police is due to their actions in 1997 - 1998 when they allegedly armed the political supporters of the political party in power. Participants feel that the police’s participation in arming the population at that time and the government’s current efforts to collect illegal weapons in society are at odds with one another. This is a major source of the mistrust felt by the citizens towards the police.

Data collected in the household survey confirms the feelings of mistrust felt by the general population. Although the majority of respondents said that they would turn to the police if they were robbed (72.6%) or threatened (63.9%) and that they believe that the police should be the primary institution responsible for security (74.8%), these figures are actually low when compared to Montenegro’s neighbours, such as Kosovo and Macedonia,

⁷⁶ Pajevic, 2003.



a finding which only serves to confirm the lack of trust in the police.⁷⁷ Further, alternate responses to these questions included turning to relatives, friends, and neighbours for help (7.6% for robbery and 6.9% for threats), private security companies (1.2% and 3.7%, respectively), and to the head of the family (2.1% and 3.1%). These responses demonstrate that citizens have identified alternative security providers whom they would turn to instead of the police, based on the previously discussed feelings of mistrust and uncertainty.

Due to the deep nature of these sentiments, it may be difficult for the police to reverse such feelings in the population. Responses to another household survey question that asks respondents to rank how much a variety of measures will increase security in Montenegro indicated that most respondents believe that improvement of the capacity of the police would make “no difference” (21.9%), while other respondents thought that it would make “a lot” of difference (10.3%), “some” difference (20.9%), or make the situation “worse” (12.5%). Therefore, it appears that the police have a long road ahead of them to rebuild its relationship with the citizenry and to win back their confidence in the police as the preferred security providers to the population. Moreover, it is clear that the police do not inspire the appropriate levels of confidence and trust in the citizenry to successfully manage the SALW handover without cooperation from more preferred neutral parties, such as community leaders or members of the international community.

4.7 Individual and community perceptions of the impact of SALW on society

Household survey results indicate that respondents perceive there to be far too many guns in society (84.4%), guns that are believed to be possessed predominantly by criminal groups (35.8%) and that the criminal activities conducted by members of these groups present the greatest source of insecurity to the citizens (39.5%). Thus, the presence of SALW in society, especially those in the hands of criminals, contributes to citizens not feeling secure. Participants in the focus groups reaffirmed these sentiments, but went further to explain that citizens fear the lawless activities of criminals and gang members, many of which often involve weapons and violence, but they cannot count on the police to protect them from crime so they acquire firearms as a “legitimate way to protect themselves.” In this way, they are both threatened by and contributing to the large number of small arms in their community. 22.2% of respondents to the household survey believe that personal protection is the primary reason that people possess firearms, while protecting one’s property (6.0%) and protecting one’s community (1.2%) rank decidedly lower in importance.

An additional perspective of the impact of SALW on society was offered by Aida Petrovic, a representative from the Montenegrin Women’s Lobby. She pointed out how deeply the presence of both legal and illegal SALW impacts the lives of Montenegrin women in particular, as they are most often the victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, or even human trafficking, three criminal acts that often involve the threat of a firearm. Petrovic feels that this often violent or fearful relationship that women in Montenegro have with SALW deeply impacts their perceptions of security throughout their lives.⁷⁸

When questioned about the impact that the presence of weapons makes upon the economic development and standard of living in a community, most household survey respondents were unconvinced that it had any influence at all (38.2%). However, 18.9% believe that the presence of guns decreases the development and standard of living a lot, while 18.3% believe that it lowers these economic factors ‘some’. The lowest response was received from those who believe that guns increase the standard of living and improve economic development in a community some (1.7%) or a lot (4.3%). While much of the population has not made a connection between the potential threat to a community’s economic growth and stability posed by the presence of SALW, approximately 37% of citizens do see the widespread availability of SALW as an economic, and not just security, problem.

⁷⁷ For more information on security perceptions in the Republic of Macedonia and in Kosovo, see Anna Khakee and Nicolas Florquin. 2003. *Kosovo and the Gun*. Geneva: Small Arms Survey and UNDP. June. And Suzette Grillot, Shelly Stoneman, Hans Risser, and Wolf Christian-Paes. 2004. *Macedonia SALW Survey*. Special Report. Geneva and Belgrade: Small Arms Survey and SEESAC.

⁷⁸ Small Arms Survey interview with Aida Petrovic, a representative from the Montenegrin Women’s Lobby. Podgorica, 16 October 2003.

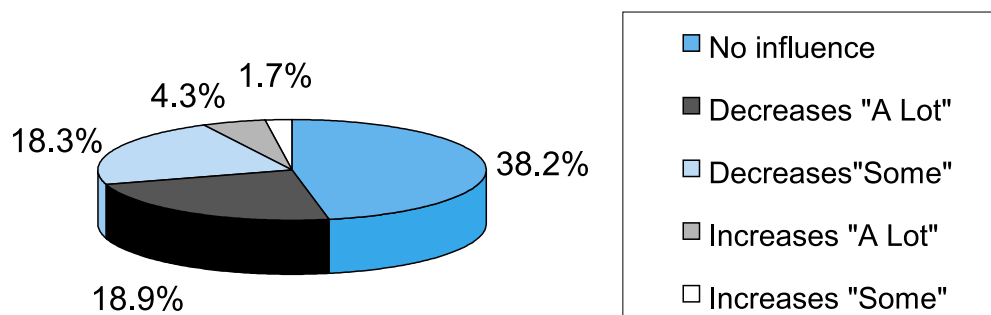


Figure 15: The perceived impact of weapons on economic development and standard of living in a community

4.8 Individual, community, and state perception towards SALW control

Although some citizens feel that owning a weapon helps to protect their families from threats (23.9%), a larger proportion of respondents believe that owning a gun is a danger to their families (37.8%). When questioned as to which government actions would help to increase security in Montenegro (ranked on a scale of 'A Lot', 'Somewhat', 'No Difference', 'Worse', 'Refuse to Answer', or 'Don't Know') respondents rated harsher punishments for illegal weapons possession the highest for the 'would increase security a lot' category (66.4%), followed by control of arms sellers (52.5%), collecting illegal guns (50.3%), greater control of legal licenses for firearms (49.5%), tightening border control (40.5%), and finally, improving the capacity of the police (10.3%). These responses illustrate the public's desire to see SALW better controlled in their society through a combination of harsher penalties imposed on violators of the law and greater attention given to this issue by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the police.

4.9 Individual perceptions towards SALW control intervention strategy options

During the last weapons collection initiative, a total of 1,770 weapons, 48,200 ammunition items and 145 kg of explosives were collected by Ministry of Internal Affairs and police authorities, a number that seemed rather low to focus group participants. In their discussions, participants suggested a number of different models for weapons collection programs that might prove to be more effective. Although some of the suggestions are contradictory and the participants could not reach consensus on the best possible solution, all of the suggestions are potential options worth exploring prior to the next amnesty period. A total of thirteen suggestions were made:

- a) **Completely anonymous return of the weapons.** Participants agree that citizens did not fully trust the proclamations made during the last initiative that those who returned the weapons would not face any putative actions later on since both their names and the information on the weapons returned were recorded. As an indicator of this mistrust, participants pointed to an incident that occurred in October 2003 where an unknown man left a large quantity of explosives at the side of the road. Although this was perceived as a dangerous and potentially deadly incident, participants believe that the perpetrator behaved in this manner because he wanted to return the weapons without suffering any consequences. Thus, in the opinion of many of the participants, total anonymity surrounding the next initiative for weapons handovers would potentially produce better effects and larger numbers of SALW turned in to authorities;
- b) **Public praise for those who return weapons.** This approach supports a completely contrary tactic to that mentioned in the previous suggestion. A different faction of the focus group participants believe that anyone who voluntarily wishes to handover their weapons should be publicly praised, ideally in front of cameras, for taking this step. Citizens think that public praise for those who participate in handing over weapons is something of a guarantee that these individuals will not later suffer any consequences for illegal possession;



- c) **Financial compensation for those who return weapons.** This suggestion is one of the most controversial. The focus group participants were divided over this approach: many believe this to be the best possible plan because it offers compensation for those giving up something of value, while others think that it is the worst possible plan for two reasons. First, the government would be rewarding those members of society who broke the law. Second, this solution would create a secondary black market of weapons because citizens could purchase weapons on the real black market and then sell it to the state;
- d) **Increased punishment of offenders.** Nearly all participants agreed that increasing the police's response to and punishment of violations of the weapons law is vital to reducing incidents of illegal weapons possession or violence-related incidents;
- e) **Prolong and reshape the weapons collection initiative.** Participants suggested that the weapons amnesty be adopted on a permanent basis, so that all those individuals who voluntarily return weapons are not punished for illegal weapons possession because they handed over the weapons. Along with this withholding of punishment for those who act appropriately, participants urged the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the police to crackdown and punish those who are found in possession of illegal weapons. They believe that these two measures, carried out concordantly, would reduce the number of weapons in society;
- f) **Establish a political consensus on this issue before the next campaign.** A portion of the focus group participants believe that the last weapons collection initiative was not successful because it was only supported by the empowered political party and did not garner support from the opposition parties. As the political arena is polarised in Montenegro, these individuals believe that establishing a political consensus among the relevant political parties and other political actors in the state, such as leaders of the church, would be one method to convince Montenegrin citizens that returning unregistered weapons to the state is the best interest of all citizens;
- g) **Encourage political party leaders to advocate weapons handover to their constituents.** Citizens believe that political party leaders could effectively act as advocates of this issue and urge fellow members of their party, as well as citizen supporters, to participate in the collection campaign with successful results;
- h) **Participation of respected individuals.** Participants suggested that this method would be particularly effective in smaller villages and towns in which community leaders' beliefs and statements carry a great deal of weight. Including religious leaders in this action was another suggestion made in both the focus groups and in interviews with officials from the Montenegro UNDP office, which would aim to incorporate the support of these local leaders and use their influence to help their communities embrace and participate in the campaign;
- i) **Handover of weapons to alternative institutions instead of police.** Although participants agree that the police must play a role in the collection effort, a portion of participants think that the high levels of mistrust of the police would deter many individuals from handing over their illegal weapons. One proposal was to set up an alternative drop-off point, such as in an NGO or international organization (the Red Cross was one suggestion), to bolster the confidence of citizens who have angst over any potential police retribution for their violation of the weapons law. Returning a weapon to a non-police institution is seen by participants as a "safer" alternative than to return a gun directly to a police officer;
- j) **Conduct a registration of illegal weapons campaign simultaneously.** Offering citizens the chance to register their currently unregistered weapons, only those permitted by law, would at least alert the Ministry of Internal Affairs to their presence and allow them to monitor the number of SALW currently possessed by the citizenry more closely. Additionally, this would allow citizens to hold onto their guns, which in some cases have both sentimental and monetary value to the family, but in a legal manner;
- k) **Informing the public about weapons safety and the dangers of misuse.** Participants believe that a long-term campaign that would raise awareness about the negative consequences of possessing, carrying, and using weapons would make a positive impact on society and help to reduce the high levels of weapons misuse and violence. They believe that this campaign should be focused primarily on school children in order to begin building long-term values that deplore weapons and violence, which will endure in the next generation;
- l) **Cracking down on those who shoot weapons at celebrations.** It was agreed by all participants that the use of weapons at celebrations is often excessive. However, it is usually accompanied by consumption of alcoholic beverages, an issue that also needs to be addressed by police authorities. Although the new



standard operating procedure of police officers is to visit the household of any person who will be hosting a celebration to warn them of the penalties that they will face if weapons are illegally fired,⁷⁹ participants believe that this procedure has not been carried out consistently enough. Strict punishments for those who host the parties and for those who shoot the weapons, participants feel, would deter others from continuing to flout authorities by illegally firing their guns; and

- m) **Pro-active policing.** Participants asserted that a police crackdown on local criminal groups, as well as individual violators of the firearms law, would be a welcome effort that would build confidence in the police's capabilities to control illegal SALW activity. These actions could include "raids of suspicious, well-known cafes and discos and the inspection of cars," but should stop at unwarranted inspections of private residences, as this could be seen as a repressive government action.⁸⁰ With such efforts, it is believed that the beneficial effects would be two-fold: large amounts of illegal SALW could be seized from criminal groups and citizens would feel more secure and re-gain their trust in the police.

These thirteen suggestions for conducting an effective SALW collection campaign and to better control SALW in Montenegro were made during the seven focus groups conducted in October 2003. During the discussions in these groups, two suggestions were resoundingly rejected by the participants: first, it is believed that a weapons for development program, in which a community development project would be awarded to the community that turns in the largest collection of weapons, would be unsuccessful in Montenegro; and second, any offers of prizes as a reward for those individuals who returned weapons also did not appeal to the participants. Participants viewed these tactics as methods that would only benefit some members of the community, which would not be enough to motivate entire communities to participate in the initiative.

4.10 Capacity of civil society organizations to raise awareness about SALW

In the focus groups, participants agreed that the SALW awareness campaign conducted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Akcija Network did achieve its goals: to inform the public about the procedures of the 'Farewell to Arms' campaign, to appeal to citizens to control weapons for the safety of their families in an effort to get them to participate in the initiative, and finally, to outline the penalties that would be levied upon violators following the close of the campaign. Participants concluded that the dream-sequence commercial that warned parents of the potential harm that could befall their child from unsecured guns and explosives was the most effective element of the public awareness campaign, while billboards that advertised the initiative had the least effect, as no one in the groups even remembered their content.



'Seminar on small arms organised by UNDP for NGOs. Petrovac - May 2003.'

As a whole, participants evaluated the SALW awareness campaign as having a very 'high intensity' and being quite 'powerful'. However, they also pointed out that informal channels, such as citizens spreading information and support for the campaign amongst themselves through casual communications, were equally important to the SALW awareness campaign's success.

⁷⁹ Small Arms Survey interview with a Montenegrin police officer who wished to remain anonymous. Podgorica, Montenegro. 17 October, 2003.

⁸⁰ Center for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM). 2003. *Household Survey Results*. Interim report. Podgorica: CEDEM. November.





5 Small Arms Capacity Survey (SACS)

An important aspect of Montenegro's SALW situation is the government's capacity to account for and control the legal firearms and to halt the spread of illegal SALW inside the country. This section seeks to identify the pertinent SALW legislative, stockpile, accounting and registration issues being addressed by the government in Montenegro. It will also identify the capacity of the appropriate security agencies to conduct safe, efficient, and effective collection and destruction campaigns for weapons, ammunition, and explosive ordinance. Finally, it will identify the capacity of the appropriate civil society organizations (CSO) and NGOs to support SALW interventions.

5.1 National SALW legislative issues

Civilian possession of weapons is governed by the 1992 Montenegrin Law on Firearms, which regulates acquisition, keeping, carrying, transportation, repairing, and modification of firearms, firearm parts and ammunition. It also specifies the criteria used for issuing licenses to civilians, as well as the penalties to be levied if a violation of the law occurs. Citizens must obtain an individual permit for each gun in their possession, but the current law lists no restrictions on how many weapons an individual is permitted to possess. The firearms that are addressed in this law are specifically, those weapons to be used for hunting or sport, as well as trophy or antique weapons. Combined weapons, such as those with two or more rifled or smoothbore barrels of same or different calibre, are also permitted. However, firearms with sound suppressors, or those that incorporate telescopic sights with electronic light infrared devices are prohibited for civilian ownership.⁸¹

Other entities who are permitted to possess registered weapons are "government authorities, enterprises, institutions and other legal entities" directly engaged in providing security for their building or location.⁸² Rifle associations and hunting clubs are also allowed to possess weapons for purposes of their sport activities. The law also specifies that individuals, for whom keeping and carrying of a weapon is necessary 'by reason of protection of private property (herds, crops, etc.)', will be issued a firearm permit.⁸³

The government approved a new firearms law on 04 June 2004, which still requires parliament adoption before being enacted. The law preserves the current criteria for obtaining a gun license, but it stipulates a new ban on carrying legally owned weapons without a separate license. The licenses for carrying a weapon will be strictly monitored and only issued to a small group of authorised official holders, who perform jobs 'dealing with the protection of property and personal safety' or who are using the weapons for either hunting or sport.⁸⁴ With this new legislation, the government, in response to international pressure and local appeal, is trying to discourage citizens from carrying weapons in public.⁸⁵ It also seeks to impose harsher penalties on violators of the law, such as increasing the amount of fines imposed upon violators, as well as the maximum length of the sentence.⁸⁶ There have been mixed responses to this law. Many believe that it is a positive step for the government to take to increase public security, while others believe that it is an infringement on their traditional rights to bear arms. Private security firms are also taking the law seriously, due to their particular situation as weapons-carriers.

5.2 National SALW storage capabilities

Official weapons maintained by the police are kept in small and reportedly secure stockpiles located in each local police unit's office. According to officials at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, both the Police Law and the Arms Law dictate policies on the proper procedures for storing weapons both in and out of police stations. However, a

⁸¹ *Law on Firearms*, Official Gazette of the Republic of Montenegro. Issue no. 31/1992. Found at <http://www.seesac.org/laws/lyug3.htm>.

⁸² *Ibid.* Article 13.

⁸³ *Ibid.* Article 13.

⁸⁴ *Draft Law on Firearms*, Articles 15 & 25. Republic of Montenegro.

⁸⁵ Small Arms Survey interview with Feho Mehovic, Assistant Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Podgorica, Montenegro. Podgorica, 8 July 2003.

⁸⁶ SEESAC Press Release, "Weapons Collection Ongoing in Montenegro." Found at: http://www.undp.org.yu/files/news/20030403_weapons_amnesty.pdf. Also see *Draft Law on Firearms*, Articles 76-82. Republic of Montenegro.



review of the current Law on Weapons has not uncovered any articles that issue instructions on proper firearms storage for either citizens or official authorities. One police officer interviewed indicated that policy and practice diverge a bit on this point, as police officers are permitted to store their automatic weapons at home as long as they 'take all measures necessary to secure the weapon, as dictated by their conscience'.⁸⁷ Therefore, police officers are expected to use their best judgment to store and secure the automatic weapon in their homes when the weapon is not required either at the station or on the job.

5.3 National SALW registration and accounting system

According to officials at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as of July 2003, there were 86,000 legally registered SALW in the Republic of Montenegro.⁸⁸ In order to obtain a legal permit for a gun, citizens must apply to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. As specified in the Law on Firearms, a permit to obtain a firearm will only be issued to citizens who are at least 18 years of age, free of a criminal history, have not been convicted of disturbing the peace or violating public order, have no history of violence, and are certifiably mentally competent to carry and possess a weapon.⁸⁹ However, one exception to the criteria is that individuals who are at least 16-years of age and belong to a hunting club are permitted to obtain a weapon for sport purposes.⁹⁰

The Commission for Issuing Weapons, located at the MUP, collectively decides if each applicant will be issued a permit. The commission is comprised of the Chief of Police, the Investigator in charge of licenses, and the License Officer. Once all three members of the commission approve the license for a firearm, the recipient can then purchase or take ownership of the weapon. The licensee must renew this license every 10 years and the license will be revoked and the weapon seized if the licensee breaks the law.⁹¹

However, there are a number of questions that surround an unknown number of weapons, estimated to be up to 10,000 -12,000, (see SADS), that were issued to 'police reservists', or citizens who joined the reserves in anticipation of a military conflict with the Yugoslav armed forces in 1998. The weapons issued from police depots during this period were poorly accounted for and many of these were not returned following the conclusion of this period of high tension. Unfortunately, when questioned about these weapons, officials at the Ministry of Internal Affairs generally avoid commenting on this situation, or pass on the responsibility for the weapons issued to their predecessors in the Ministry.⁹²

5.4 National SALW Information Gathering Capabilities

Unfortunately, little information exists in regards to SALW issues in Montenegro. Although officials at the Ministry of Internal Affairs are very forthcoming on the details of the 'Farewell to Arms', they are, for the most part, unable to discuss other subjects that pertain to the illegal possession of weapons within Montenegro.

5.5 Capacity of appropriate security agencies to conduct a safe, efficient, and effective collection

The Republic of Montenegro has conducted one previous SALW collection initiative and amnesty period. Between 12 March - 12 May 2003, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, with the financial support of USAID/ORT and

⁸⁷ Authors' interview with a police officer who wished to remain anonymous, Podgorica, Montenegro. 17 October 2003.

⁸⁸ Small Arms Survey interview with Feho Mehovic, Assistant Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs. Podgorica, 8 July 2003.

⁸⁹ *Law on Firearms*, Article 16. Official Gazette of the Republic of Montenegro. Issue no. 31/1992. Found at <http://www.seesac.org/laws/lyug3.htm>.

⁹⁰ *Law on Firearms*, Article 17. Official Gazette of the Republic of Montenegro. Issue no. 31/1992. Found at <http://www.seesac.org/laws/lyug3.htm>.

⁹¹ Small Arms Survey interviews with Feho Mehovic, Assistant Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs. Podgorica, 8 July 2003. Also, see *Law on Firearms*, Article 25, paragraph two. Official Gazette of the Republic of Montenegro. Issue no. 31/1992. Found at <http://www.seesac.org/laws/lyug3.htm>.

⁹² Small Arms Survey interviews with officials at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Podgorica, Montenegro. July & October, 2003.



the cooperation of the non-governmental Akcija Network, a network of approximately 50 NGOs that support economic, political, and legal reforms, began a weapons collection and amnesty period in Montenegro.⁹³ At the conclusion of this amnesty, a total of approximately 1,770 guns, 48,200 ammunition items and 145 kilos of explosives were destroyed.⁹⁴

During the two-month initiative, the Ministry of Internal Affairs worked closely with USAID/ORT and Akcija to keep the citizenry informed of the policies and procedures surrounding the amnesty. The MUP and USAID/ORT jointly held frequent press conferences to disseminate pertinent information to the public, such as weekly updates on the amount of weapons, ammunitions, and explosives collected, as well as the correct phone numbers to call to request a police pick up of weapons at a private residence.⁹⁵

Prior to the campaign, the Montenegrin Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Akcija Network jointly conducted a SALW awareness campaign entitled 'Farewell to Arms', which encouraged citizens to 'respect life, return the weapons' to the authorities.⁹⁶ The campaign was primarily aimed at family safety, so the commercial and radio advertisements sponsored by Akcija encouraged listeners to be pro-active and participate in the initiative by returning illegal weapons to the police in order to keep their family safe from accidental deaths or injury by firearm misuse. According to a representative from ORT, the Ministry of Internal Affairs' high level of involvement in the process and the effort given to keep the weapons handover transparent ultimately increased the population's trust in the police force during this period.⁹⁷ However, a previous household survey conducted by CEDEM in April 2003 which asked respondents their opinion as to whether the police are fine (Yes: 24.41%; No: 22% or I Don't Know: 53.6%), efficient (Y: 13.7%; N: 22.9%; or IDK: 63.4%), or corrupted (Y: 43.8%, N: 7%; or IDK: 49%), further documents the profound mistrust in the police that was discussed in detail in the previous section on Small Arms Perceptions, (see Figure 16).⁹⁸ As household survey data supports the notion that trust in the police is still lacking, (see previous section), it seems premature to jump to the conclusion that the police's role in the last amnesty fostered the public's trust in the Ministry of the Interior or the police as an institution.



SALW awaiting destruction after national amnesty, April 2003.

⁹³ Small Arms Survey interview with Vlado Simonovic, the media contact for CEDEM, a local human rights NGO that is a member of the Akcija Network. Podgorica, Montenegro. July 2003. Also, see SEESAC Press Release, "Weapons Collection Ongoing in Montenegro." Found at: http://www.undp.org.yu/files/news/20030403_weapons_amnesty.pdf.

⁹⁴ SEESAC. Press release entitled "Destruction of Small Arms in Montenegro." 23 May 2003. Found at <http://www.seesac.org/press/press2003.htm#DESTRUCTION%20OF%20SMALL%20ARMS%20IN%20MONTENEGRO>. Small Arms Survey interview with Feho Mehovic, Assistant Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs. Podgorica, 8 July 2003.

⁹⁵ Small Arms Survey interview with Claire O'Riordan, a representative from USAID/ORT, and Vlado Simonovic, CEDEM, Podgorica, Montenegro. July 2003.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Center for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM). *Montenegrin Public Opinion in 2003*. Podgorica: CEDEM. April 2003.

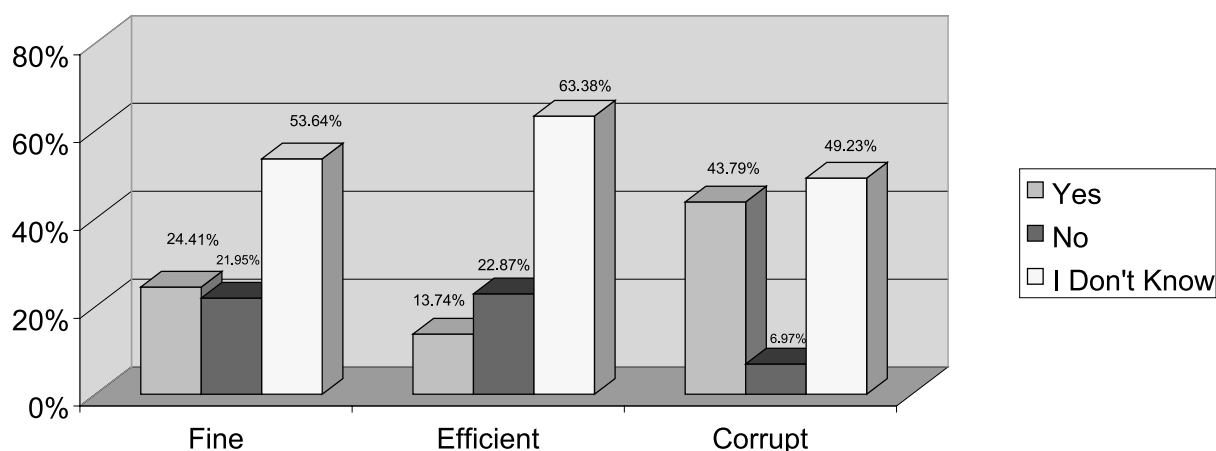


Figure 16: Montenegrin perception of local police

During the amnesty, the Ministry of Internal Affairs also worked to maintain the privacy of individuals turning in weapons. This was exhibited in officials' efforts to provide plainclothes policemen to collect voluntarily relinquished weapons from private residences. In order to sustain the privacy of and to minimise any potential discomfort to the citizenry, a representative from an NGO, the Centre for Democratic Transition, routinely accompanied plainclothes police officers on weapons handovers at private residences to prevent any incidents or allegations of improper police behaviour.⁹⁹ Overall, the 'Farewell to Arms' initiative was hailed as a success by officials at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as by their partners at USAID/ORT and the Akcija Network.¹⁰⁰ However, in the focus groups, participants generally agreed that another amnesty period, followed by the adoption and swift implementation of the new law on firearms that bans public carrying of weapons, would send the appropriate message that the government is taking the threat posed by small arms to public security seriously, and is being proactive on the matter.¹⁰¹

In spite of this shared sentiment, it is difficult to harmonise this public support for another amnesty period with the 37.5% of the household survey respondents who answered that they would choose to own a weapon if possible and the 26% who admit to owning one or more weapons. However, results from the April 2003 household survey conducted by CEDEM, reveal that the support for such a campaign is more passive than active. In this survey, respondents were asked if they would support the March - May 2003 'Farewell to Arms' weapons amnesty and others like it, but only 16.4% responded that they were 'interested in offering personal contributions to such a campaign', while an overwhelming 54.9% answered that they would 'support such activities, but would not take active part in them'. This suggests that although most members of society would like to see something done about the high numbers of guns possessed by citizens in Montenegro, they are not yet convinced or prepared to actively participate and relinquish their own firearms in such an initiative. Other respondents to this question answered that they 'had never thought about it' (16.3%), are 'not interested' (7.7%), or are 'against such activities' (4.9%). The lower responses for those actively opposed or disinterested in such activities indicate that the next amnesty campaign's greatest challenge would not necessarily be facing active opposition, but instead, overcoming the population's passive support or disinterested indifference with a campaign that builds the public's trust and confidence in the MUP and encourages them to actively participate in the effort.

While officials at the Ministry of Internal Affairs now have experience assuming the role of weapons collectors, one suggestion for the next weapons collection initiative made by the public in the focus groups and by representatives of the UNDP, would be to include more community ethnic and religious leaders in the process.¹⁰² Encouraging

⁹⁹ Small Arms Survey interview with Claire O'Riordan, a representative from USAID/ORT, Podgorica, Montenegro. July 2003.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. Small Arms Survey interview with Feho Mehovic, Assistant Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs. Podgorica, 8 July 2003.

¹⁰¹ Center for Human Rights. (CEDEM). Focus group results. Interim report. Podgorica: CEDEM. November 2003.

¹⁰² Small Arms Survey interviews with Montenegrin citizens and with Kaca Djurickovic, Program Manager for SALW, and Garret Tankosic-Kelly, Head of Office, UNDP, Podgorica, October, 2003.



the involvement of community leaders in the collection process may indeed provide a greater guarantee of support from the citizenry to voluntarily hand over their weapons and conform to a new stricter law on weapons possession.

5.6 SALW destruction capability for weapons and ammunition



“Steel Factory Niksic” - weapons for destruction, April 2003.’



Ammunition prepared for demolition, April 2003.



Student preparing demolition charge during the joint SCG EOD training,

On 27 May 2003, the weapons collected by the Ministry of Internal Affairs during the amnesty period, as well as an additional 3,400 weapons from prior MUP seizures, were destroyed at the Steel Industrial Complex in Niksic, Montenegro. A total of 5,028 weapons were destroyed in the Zeljezara-Niksic smelter,¹⁰³ while the assortment of more than 30,000 hand grenades, mines, and other types of ammunition also collected either prior to or during the amnesty were destroyed at a local military training centre.¹⁰⁴ The weapons were converted into approximately 16 tonnes of molten steel. The cost for destroying these weapons was five US dollars per weapon destroyed (US\$ 5.00), but future destruction costs are predicted to be lower now that the capacity development for weapons destruction has already taken place and economies of scale begin to apply.¹⁰⁵ Generally, officials at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and representatives of SEESAC have touted the operation as a success, stating that the destruction ‘has provided tangible evidence to the civil population that recovered weapons will be destroyed and permanently taken out of circulation’.¹⁰⁶ Little information is known about the government’s capacity for destruction of explosive ordnance. Following the two-month long amnesty period, a total of approximately 64,000 rounds of small arms ammunition, ¹⁰⁷ 3,000 mines and 2,500 bombs were destroyed by open detonation at a local military training ground shortly after the destruction at the Niksic smelter.¹⁰⁸ In order to improve upon the security and the efficiency of future ammunition destruction operations, SEESAC provided additional support in April 2004, in the form of training and equipment, to the Ministry of Internal Affairs’ technical personnel.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Small Arms Survey interviews with Feho Mehovic, Assistant Deputy Minister of the Interior. Podgorica, Montenegro. July 2003. Also, see <http://www.seesac.org/press/press2003.htm#DESTRUCTION%20OF%20SMALL%20ARMS%20IN%20MONTENEGRO>.

¹⁰⁴ Small Arms Survey interviews with Vladan Simonovic, a representative from CEDEM, a human rights NGO that is a member of the Akcija network and worked closely to coordinate media for the amnesty period. Podgorica, Montenegro. July 2003.

¹⁰⁵ SEESAC. Press release, “SALW Destruction (Republic of Montenegro).” Found at <http://www.seesac.org/press/press2003.htm#DESTRUCTION%20OF%20SMALL%20ARMS%20IN%20MONTENEGRO>.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ See <http://www.seesac.org/reports/ReportJune2003.pdf>, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Small Arms Survey interview with Feho Mehovic, Assistant Deputy Minister of the Interior, Podgorica, Montenegro. July 2003.

¹⁰⁹ See <http://www.seesac.org/reports/ReportJune2003.pdf>, p. 5.



5.7 Civil Society Organizations (CSO)/NGO capabilities to support SALW initiatives

A network of approximately 50 Montenegrin NGOs, that support social, legal, and political reforms, called the Akcija Network, collaborated with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, USAID and ORT to support the 'Farewell to Arms' campaign prior to and during the two-month long weapons amnesty that occurred in March - May 2003.¹¹⁰ This network oversaw the majority of the public media-covered activities during the arms collection campaign and has continued to participate in the ORT-sponsored 'Reforms for a Healthy Society' programme, which sponsors reform-oriented NGOs and independent media outlets that promote the reforms process in Montenegro.¹¹¹

Outside of the Akcija Network, few NGOs or CSOs that focus on SALW issues exist. Both the Montenegrin Women's Lobby, a grass-roots CSO, and the local Roma Centre have indicated an interest and a willingness to become involved in future SALW activities, but have cited the Akcija Network's somewhat exclusionary policies, as well as a lack of international funding for SALW projects, as the reasons for their current inactivity on this issue.¹¹²

The Montenegrin government continues to collaborate with a host of international organizations, namely the UNDP, USAID, and the OSCE, on issues of weapons control and police reform, respectively. In particular, the UNDP will be sponsoring and managing the next weapons collection initiative, set to occur in the spring of 2004. They are currently working with the Ministry of Internal Affairs to establish a committee on SALW that will include members of the NGO community, religious and community leaders, in the hopes of collaborating to come to some shared conclusions on how to address the SALW issue in Montenegro.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Small Arms Survey interviews with officials from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and representatives from ORT and CEDEM, a member of the Akcija Network. Podgorica, Montenegro. July 2003.

¹¹¹ Ibid. "Current Projects: Akcija Coalition for Reform." International Cooperation Projects Montenegro. Found at <http://www.icd.ort.org/monteneg.htm>.

¹¹² Small Arms Survey interviews with representatives from the Montenegrin Women's Lobby and Roma Center. Podgorica, Montenegro. October 2003.

¹¹³ Small Arms Survey interview with Kaca Djurickovic, Program Manager for SALW, and Garret Tankosic-Kelly, Head of Office, UNDP. Podgorica, July and October 2003.



6.0 Conclusion

This study demonstrates that there is an abundance of firearms in Montenegro. Although Montenegrins express their concerns about the potential dangers of widespread firearms possession, their adherence to cultural traditions of gun ownership, and perceptions that guns offer security from crime, often precludes the surrender of weapons.

The availability and misuse of small arms continue to threaten the safety and stability of Montenegro. The findings of the household survey confirm that at least one weapon is held in every household in Montenegro. On the one hand, this suggests that the market for firearms is saturated and as such, little illegal arms trafficking occurs in Montenegro. However, it is civilian holders who ultimately misuse small arms the most and threaten the safety and well being of other Montenegrins. Statistics on firearm-related crime are troubling. Though the rates for assault with a deadly weapon appear to be on the decline, those for armed robbery continue to increase.

Currently, the greatest obstacle to improved regulation of weapons as well as a clear picture of official gun holding in Montenegro is the lack of reliable information on SALW issues. This is an area where both regional and international attention to the issue of small arms in Montenegro could prove effective in bringing about positive change in the government's information sharing methods. Improved transparency on the numbers of current government-held stockpiles and previous distributions of official weapons to civilians, as well as enhanced efforts to monitor and verify the number of weapons held by civilians would further illuminate the extent of the small arms situation in Montenegro.

The efforts of the UNDP, particularly through its forthcoming weapons collection program, as well as other international organizations that have sponsored weapons collection programs in the past, represent important steps towards a safer Montenegro. Although the findings of the SALW Survey suggest that Montenegrins may be willing, under some circumstances, to hand over their weapons, their confidence in both national and international security providers vary. Therefore, the proposed weapons collection initiative should be carefully tailored to reassure the citizenry of its objectives and to provide for their security and confidentiality to the extent possible.

The removal and destruction of small arms in Montenegro is a necessary step towards improved safety and security in the territory. But a weapons collection initiative cannot take place in a vacuum. Enhanced control measures on firearms, such as those proposed in the new firearms law that would prohibit the public carrying of weapons, are crucial and necessary actions to achieving long-term success in reducing the high numbers of small arms in Montenegro.



Annex A (Informative) Terms and Definitions

A.1.1

ammunition

See munition

A.1.2

explosives

a substance or mixture of substances, which, under external influences, is capable of rapidly releasing energy in the form of gases and heat. [AAP-6]

A.1.3

munition

a complete device charged with explosives, propellants, pyrotechnics, initiating composition, or nuclear, biological or chemical material for use in military operations, including demolitions. [AAP-6].

Note: In common usage, “munitions” (plural) can be military weapons, ammunition and equipment.

A.1.4

micro-disarmament

the collection, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives, light and heavy weapons of combatants and often also of the civilian population. It includes the development of responsible arms management programmes.

A.1.5

national authority

the government department(s), organization(s) or institution(s) in a country charged with the regulation, management and coordination of SALW activities.

A.1.6

Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)

all lethal conventional munitions that can be carried by an individual combatant or a light vehicle, that also do not require a substantial logistic and maintenance capability.

Note: There are a variety of definitions for SALW circulating and international consensus on a “correct” definition has yet to be agreed. For the purposes of this RMDS the above definition will be used.

A.1.7

Small Arms Capacity Assessment (SACA)

the component of SALW survey that collects data on the indigenous resources available to respond to the SALW problem.

A.1.8

Small Arms Distribution Assessment (SADA)

the component of SALW survey that collects data on the type, quantity, ownership, distribution and movement of SALW within the country or region.

A.1.9

Small Arms Impact Survey (SAIS)

the component of SALW survey that collects data on the impact of SALW on the community and social and economic development.



A.1.10

Small Arms Perception Survey (SAPS)

the component of SALW survey that collects qualitative and quantitative information, via focus groups, interviews, and household surveys, on the attitudes of the local community to SALW and possible interventions.

A.1.11

standard

a standard is a documented agreement containing technical specifications or other precise criteria to be used consistently as rules, guidelines, or definitions of characteristics to ensure that materials, products, processes and services are fit for their purpose.

Note: RMDS aim to improve safety and efficiency in micro-disarmament by promoting the preferred procedures and practices at both headquarters and field level. To be effective, the standards should be definable, measurable, achievable and verifiable.

A.1.12

survey (SALW Survey)

a systematic and logical process to determine the nature and extent of SALW proliferation and impact within a region, nation or community in order to provide accurate data and information for a safe, effective and efficient intervention by an appropriate organisation.



Annex B (Informative) Household survey - results (CEDEM)

MUNICIPALITY	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
1. PODGORICA	360
2. BAR	93
3. BIJELO POLJE	122
4. PLJEVLJA	88
5. NIKŠIĆ	169
6. CETINJE	47
7. BERANE	85
8. H.NOVI	72
9. KOTOR	54
10. ROŽAJE	59
11. ULCINJ	50
TOTAL	1199

1. Region	%
1. Village	14.8
2. Town	55.9
3. Suburban settlement	29.3

2. Gender	%
1. Male	50.9
2. Female	49.1

3. Years	%
1. from 18 to 25 years old	18.7
2. from 26 to 30 years old	10.1
3. from 31 to 39 years old	19.0
4. from 40 to 49 years old	20.8
5. from 50 to 59 years old	14.2
6. over 60 years	17.3

4. Nationality	%
1. Montenegrin	50.0
2. Serb	28.4
3. Muslim	7.2
4. Bosniak	6.3
5. Albanian	3.8
6. Croat	1.2
7. Other	0.6
8. No answer	2.6

5. Education	%
1. No education	1.0
2. Uncompleted elementary school	1.3
3. Completed elementary school	6.3
4. Uncompleted secondary school	3.2
5. Completed secondary school	57.4
6. Higher education	15.8
7. University education	15.0

6. Are you?	%
1. Employed	50.5
2. Housewife	5.4
3. Student or volunteer	6.9
4. Pensioner/ invalid	18.4
5. Unemployed searching for job	13.0
6. Unemployed but not searching	2.6
7. No answer	3.2



7. What is your occupation, that is, what work you are doing now, even if that is not what you are professionally qualified for?

RESPONSE	%
Owner of own business	15.0
Manager of enterprise	2.9
Manager of division or department	4.1
White collar worker/office employee	8.0
Foreman, technician	8.0
Clerical-level office worker	13.5
White collar worker/office employee	4.2
Skilled worker	19.4
Semi-skilled worker	2.1
Unskilled worker	2.1
Military	1.4
Civil servants (police, teachers, etc.)	10.8
Farmer, fisherman	4.0
Never worked	0.6
Something else	3.8

8. Here is a list of monthly expenses of a household. Tell me, what is the average expense of your household?

RESPONSE	%
0-50 Eur.	1.2
51-100 Eur.	5.0
101-150 Eur.	7.6
151-200 Eur.	9.5
201-250 Eur.	11.0
251-300 Eur.	16.0
301-500 Eur.	23.0
500 + Eur.	14.7
Don't know	12.0

9. How many people LIVE here in this household now, including children.

RESPONSE	%
One	4.6
Two	12.8
Three	19.1
Four	28.9
Five	20.8
Six	8.2
Seven and more	5.7



10. Whom would you address/call, if your car or motorcycle, or other asset were robbed?

RESPONSE	%
1. Turn to relatives, friends and neighbors for help	7.6
2. Go to Police (Ministry of Internal Affairs)	72.6
3. Go to former members of armed forces	0.5
4. Go to current members of the armed forces	0.3
5. Go to private security company or similar	1.2
6. Turning to community elders	0.3
7. Turning to the head of the family	2.4
8. Other	0.9
9. No one	4.5
10. I don't know	6.3
11. Refused to answer	3.4

11. Whom would you address/call, if someone threatened to kill you?

RESPONSE	%
1. Turn to relatives, friends and neighbors for help	6.9
2. Go to Police (Ministry of Internal Affairs)	63.9
3. Go to former members of armed forces	0.3
4. Go to current members of the armed forces	0.4
5. Find private protection (security company or similar)	3.7
6. Turning to community elders	0.2
7. Turning to the head of the family	3.1
8. Other	3.3
9. No one	6.1
10. I don't know	8.2
11. Refused	4.0

12. Ideally, who do you think should be responsible for security?

RESPONSE	%
1. Local government	11.4
2. MUP (Ministry of Internal Affairs)	74.8
3. Army	4.3
4. Former members of armed forces	0.3
5. Private security firms	0.5
6. The community	3.1
7. Family	0.3
8. Other	1.0
9. Refuse	1.5
10. Don't know	2.8

13. What is the greatest source of insecurity to you?

RESPONSE	%
1. Crime	39.5
2. Unsafe roads	2.4
3. Economic insecurity	37.7
4. Political insecurity	9.9
5. Salw availability	5.7
6. Other	4.8



14. There are people that feel that having a gun helps to protect their families. Other people believe that having guns is dangerous to their families. Which opinion is closest to your own?

RESPONSE	%
1. Helps protect	23.9
2. Not sure	17.3
3. Is dangerous	37.8
4. Don't know	8.7
5. Refuse	12.3

15. Do you think that there are too many guns in society?

RESPONSE	%
1. Yes	84.4
2. No	3.6
3. Don't know	10.8
4. No answer	1.3

16. If yes in which parts of society?

RESPONSE	100 %	129.4 %
1. Criminal groups	35.8	46.3
2. Businessmen	3.1	4.0
3. Politicians	3.6	4.7
4. In households	7.8	10.1
5. Among ex-fighters/ex-military	13.1	16.9
6. Among traffickers	8.7	11.3
7. Other	0.5	0.7
8. Whole society	24.7	32.0
9. Don't know	1.9	2.5
10. Refused	0.8	1.0

17. Do you think your town/neighborhood is safer, the same or more dangerous than other areas in Montenegro?

RESPONSE	%
1. Safer	24.6
2. Same	51.8
3. More dangerous	9.3
4. Don't know	14.3

18. Compared to 2002 is the security in this area better or worse?

RESPONSE	%
1. Now is better	17.8
2. Got worse	16.7
3. Stayed the same	42.3
4. Volatile: goes up and down	10.8
5. Don't know	10.2
6. Refused	2.2



19. How much do you think each of the following will increase security?

RESPONSE	A lot	Somewhat	No Effect	Worse	Ref	DK
1. Tightening border control	40.5	21.8	8.4	1.8	16.8	10.6
2. Improve the capacity of the police	10.3	20.9	21.9	12.5	20.7	13.8
3. Greater control of legal licenses for firearms	49.5	12.1	7.3	2.7	16.6	11.7
4. Control of arm sellers	52.5	10.9	5.3	2.1	18.2	10.9
5. Harsher punishment for Illegal weapons possession	66.4	7.7	3.2	1.3	12.5	8.9
6. Collecting illegal guns	50.3	13.0	5.7	1.4	18.3	11.3

20. What do you think is an appropriate age for someone to possess a gun?

RESPONSE	%
1. Younger than 15 years	0.5
2. 16-20 years	0.7
3. 21-30 years	8.5
4. Older than 31	40.3
5. A man does not need to have a gun	40.6
6. Don't know	5.9
7. Refused	3.5

21. Do you think that the presence of guns in your community has an overall impact on economic development and standard of living? How would you rate the impact of gun availability?

RESPONSE	%
1. Increases the development and standard of living, a lot	4.3
2. Increases the development and standard of living, some	1.7
3. Has no influence	38.2
4. Decreases the development and standard of living, some	7.6
5. Decreases the development and standard of living, a lot	18.3
6. Don't know	18.9
7. Refused	10.9

22. In your personal opinion what is the most common reason for the people in your community to keep firearms?

RESPONSE	%
1. Personal protection	22.2
2. Protect property	6.0
3. Protect community	1.2
4. Political security	3.2
5. Work	6.3
6. Sport shooting	1.2
7. Left from the crisis	7.3
8. For hunting	4.1
9. Valued family possession	2.6
10. Part of the tradition	21.8
11. Other	Q
12. Don't know	12.9
13. Refused	5.8



- 23. In your opinion, what are the reasons for which the citizens who possess illegal arms and explosives do not want to register them:**

RESPONSE	%
1. Fear from punishment	26.1
2. They reckon they might need them	21.0
3. They don't consider it a "great" criminal act	22.8
4. They think nobody else would register guns	4.3
5. Other	3.2
6. Don't know	15.3
7. refused	7.3

- 24. If your household could own a gun legally, would you choose to do so?**

RESPONSE	%
1. No	49.8
2. Yes	37.5
3. Don't know	9.7
4. Refused	3.0

- 25. Why would your household choose NOT to own a weapon?**

RESPONSE	100 %	182 %
1. Do not like guns	36.8	67.3
2. Dangerous for family in the house (i.e. children)	23.9	43.7
3. Don't need one	25.4	46.4
4. Dangerous for community	6.7	12.2
5. Don't know how to use one	2.5	4.5
6. Afraid	2.8	5.2
7. Only women in the house	0.7	1.3
8. Licence too costly/difficult to obtain	0.4	0.7
9. Other	0.2	0.3
10. Don't know	0.2	0.3
11. Refused	0.5	0.8

- 26. Why would your household choose to own a firearm?**

RESPONSE	100 %	152 %
1. To protect myself/ my family	43.8	66.7
2. To protect my property	15.2	23.1
3. To contribute to the overall safety of my local area	3.4	5.1
4. For political reasons	1.2	1.8
5. I have a risky profession	4.2	6.4
6. Sport shooting	10.1	15.3
7. Because a lot of people have weapons	5.6	8.4
8. For hunting	8.2	12.4
9. Other	2.9	4.4
10. Don't know	2.2	3.3
11. Refused	3.4	5.1



27. What would you say the best approach would be for collecting illegal guns in your community?

RESPONSE	%
1. People would be willing to do it today, with no conditions	8.2
2. Improvement of the economic situation in community	9.2
3. Proclamation of amnesty	3.7
4. Offering cash	16.6
5. Striking agreement in the local community	3.0
6. If there would be less crime	6.2
7. If there would be severe penalty	13.4
8. In return of community development projects	0.2
9. In order that they as individuals may enter a competition for prizes (e.g. a car, furniture, scholarship for children).	4.9
10. If police were less aggressive	2.2
11. If police were more effective	10.3
12. None	2.4
13. Other	1.7
14. Don't know	12.8
15. Refused	5.3

28. If someone in Montenegro, for whatever reason, would need to acquire a weapon, how do you think he could get one?

RESPONSE	100 %	150 %
1. Would not be able to get one	2.0	3.0
2. Would have to ask around	5.7	8.6
3. Buy one from the black market	25.9	39.1
4. Know of a hidden cache	7.3	10.9
5. Buy from a friend	6.3	9.4
6. Borrow one	4.3	6.4
7. Get from family member	3.9	5.8
8. Get in specific town/region	2.2	3.3
9. Get a license and buy a gun	28.4	42.9
10. Other	1.1	1.7
11. Don't know	9.7	14.7
12. Refused	3.3	4.9

29. There is announcement for collection of illegal weapons. In your personal opinion action is likely to be:

RESPONSE	%
1. Very successful	5.6
2. Successful	24.8
3. Unsuccessful	36.7
4. Very unsuccessful	7.9
5. Don't know	21.8
6. Refused	3.3



30. Do you think that people will recall on this action and give their illegal weapons if they have any?

RESPONSE	%
1. It is very likely	10.8
2. It is somewhat likely	15.8
3. It is somewhat unlikely	32.4
4. It is very unlikely	18.9
5. Don't know	21.9

31. If a voluntary weapons collection initiative were begun in your community, whom would people in your community find most acceptable as weapons collectors?

RESPONSE	100 %	141 %
1. Central government	7.4	10.4
2. Local government	9.0	12.8
3. Parliament	2.7	3.8
4. Ministry of Internal Affairs	25.5	36.0
5. Army	9.9	13.9
6. Political parties	3.4	4.7
7. NGO	7.2	10.2
8. International organization	4.5	6.3
9. Police	10.2	14.4
10. Public workers with independent monitors from local community	4.4	6.2
11. Other	1.9	2.7
12. Refused	1.6	2.3
13. Don't know	12.4	17.6

32. If collections were held and not all the weapons were handed in, what types of weapons do you think that people are most likely to keep in your neighborhood-municipality?

RESPONSE	%
1. Pistols/revolvers	60.8
2. Hunting rifles	7.8
3. Shotguns	0.6
4. Automatic rifles (such as AK 47s)	3.8
5. Machine guns	0.9
6. Explosives	1.0
7. Other	2.3
8. No answer	1.9
9. Don't know	20.9



33. If a voluntary weapons collection initiative were begun in your community, which of the following actors would be best placed to mobilise the community to participate?

RESPONSE	100 %	154 %
1. Central government	10.5	16.2
2. Local government	8.0	12.3
3. Parliament	3.3	5.1
4. Ministry of Internal Affairs	16.6	25.6
5. Army	9.9	15.3
6. Police	12.2	18.8
7. Political parties	3.7	5.7
8. NGO	4.8	7.4
9. Women	6.8	10.5
10. Religious leaders	3.7	5.8
11. Community elders	2.3	3.6
12. Trade unions	0.4	0.7
13. International organizations	3.3	5.1
14. Other	1.6	2.4
15. Refused	1.4	2.1
16. Don't know	11.4	17.6

34. Does your household own a gun and if so, how many?

RESPONSE	%
1. No, we do not own a gun	65.0
2. Yes, we own one gun	19.5
3. Yes, we own 2 guns	3.3
4. Yes, we own 3 guns	1.3
5. Yes, we own 4 guns	0.7
6. Yes, we own 5 guns	1.6
7. Refused	4.4
8. Don't know	4.3



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The Small Arms Survey is an independent research project located at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland. It serves as the principal international source of public information on all aspects of small arms, and as a resource center for governments, policy makers, researchers, and activists. The project has an international staff with expertise in security studies, political science, international public policy, law, economics, development studies, conflict resolution, and sociology. The staff work closely with a worldwide network of researchers and partners.

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